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CATHOLIC REFORM.

Charles Jean Marie Loyson

CATHOLIC REFORM.

LETTERS, FRAGMENTS, DISCOURSES,

BY

FATHER HYACINTHE.

TRANSLATED BY

MADAME HYACINTHE-LOYSON.

WITH A PREFACE

BY

ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY,

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

"For a priest, there is nothing so dangerous before God, nothing so shameful before man, as not to speak out his convictions freely."—SAINT AMBROSE.

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PREFACE.

In fulfilling a request to introduce to the English public the English translation of the addresses and letters of the distinguished French preacher, M. Hyacinthe Loyson, still best known by his former name of Père Hyacinthe, I have thought that it might be well to give a general view of the grounds on which even those who may differ from many of the expressions and statements herein contained ought to feel an interest in the movement of which he is, if not the most influential, yet the best known and the most popular representative.[1]

That universal ground of interest consists in the deep religious principle which is involved in the Old Catholic struggle. It is this. That the chief call of those in any Church, who disagree with the dominant party, or with any of its specific doctrines or institutions, is not to desert such a Church, but to strive, openly and

[1] The substance of this Preface is contained, more or less, in an address published in 1873 in the *Contemporary Review*.

honourably, to realise within it their own ideal of Christianity.

There are two other courses, but only two other courses, open in such cases. One is that each dissentient should found a sect of his own. For educated men—for those who take a serious view of the whole position of Christendom at this time—it is probable that there are few to whom such a step will commend itself. Another course would be[1] that of complete individual isolation from all ecclesiastical organizations whatever. This may possibly be the ultimate issue to which the world is tending. But there are many reasons for regarding such an issue as far distant. And, therefore, in the meantime, the principle on which the Liberal or Old Catholics profess to act has a paramount claim on all reflecting men, and it may be useful to show that their confession of it is not new or solitary.

The struggle of the Old Catholics against the Ultramontanes is virtually the same which in different degrees is maintained against what may be called the Ultramontanes in each of the churches of Christendom, Catholic or Protestant, Conforming or Nonconforming.

It is perhaps necessary, in speaking of Ultramon-

[1] I have not here spoken of the alternative of the dissatisfied members passing over to some other existing Church, which no doubt may in some cases be the easiest solution. But in every mixed Church (and all existing Churches are more or less mixed) occur the same difficulties arising from partial disagreement, as are involved in the case of the Old Catholics.

tanes in this general sense, to make two remarks by way of explanation. The word, as is well known, has now entirely lost its geographical sense, and is used in the Roman Church for those, whether north or south[1] of the Alps, who attach an exclusive and excessive value to the judgment of the Roman Court. But this special application has itself become absorbed in the more general meaning which is symbolized by it, and which may perhaps be rendered (making allowance for the epigrammatic form of the phrase) by a definition given in a recent Parliamentary debate by Dr. Lyon Playfair. "The Ultramontanes are the Ecclesiastical Communists. Communism is the reduction of property to a common level. *Ultramontanism is the reduction of religious spirit and intellectual thought to a common level.*" But, in using the word in this sense, and whilst lamenting the mischievous effect of this tendency on the Church at large, we would gladly acknowledge the many excellent graces that adorn the characters of those who may thus be designated in these several churches. For many of them we ought to entertain a profound respect and regard—and we do not doubt that they perform a useful function, so long as they are not the exclusive rulers.

[1] In earlier times, the word was used from the Italian or southern point of view—and thus in a reverse sense to the modern. Lord Bacon, in speaking of what he calls "*Papable* persons," says that "not more than one *Ultramontane* (*i.e.*, not more than one of the Northern as opposed

Thus the struggle of the Old Catholics is in itself the same struggle which has been maintained in the Church of England by those who, from the time of Lord Falkland down to the present day, have endeavoured to set forth more reasonable views of religion, in distinction from the hierarchical or Puritan views which have alternately been upheld by the fashion of the day or the domination of party.[1] It is the same struggle which, under a somewhat different guise, was sustained by John Wesley. "I vary," he said, "from the Church of England, but I will never leave it." It is also the same principle, under yet another form, which is maintained by what are called the "Liberal Protestants" in the National Protestant Church of France. It is the same principle which is or which might be maintained in each of the Nonconformist communities. It was the struggle of John Bunyan and of Robert Hall in favour of open communion against the rigid rule of the Baptists. It was the struggle of Dr. Davidson against the rulers of the Independents. It is the struggle of those noble-minded Nonconformists who maintain their protest against the watchwords which often govern their churches; who resist the reduc-

to the Southern nations) has been appointed for the last forty years." And in Brande's "Ecclesiastical Dictionary" the word is explained to mean, "those who are *least* favourable to the Papal supremacy."

[1] See Principal Tulloch's excellent work on "Rational Theology in England."

tion of all ecclesiastical institutions to the common level of a uniform sectarianism; who know that the Church cannot wholly be separated from the Christian world, nor religion from the national education of the country. It is the struggle of all those members of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, whether Established, Free, or "United Presbyterian," who, in the presence of the old Calvinistic standards of their Church, maintain what Norman Macleod used to call "the magnificent 'Nevertheless' of Dr. Chalmers."

In all these cases, the cry of the dominant party is the same—not always the same in form, not always couched in the same imperious tone, but the same in substance:—"We do not wish to keep you—you are not of us—we anathematize you—you are traitors within the camp—if you leave us, we will respect you—so long as you remain with us, we hate you, we despise you." The counter-cry of the Old Catholics; of the Anglican representatives of Chillingworth and Tillotson; of the old French Huguenots of the pre-Methodist epoch; of the Open-communion Baptists; of the followers of the fine old Nonconformists of the type of Baxter or Wesley or Robert Hall; of the larger-minded Presbyterians of Scotland; either is, or would be, if they were pushed to extremities, the same also:—"We have no wish to leave you; we maintain our position as

legitimate in the Catholic, the Anglican, the Huguenot, the Presbyterian, the Nonconformist Churches respectively; we value the advantages, not only temporal but spiritual, which the connection with a wider body gives us; we consider our existence within that body an advantage to it; we refuse to regard ourselves as outcasts; we maintain that we represent not the only, but some of the best elements of perpetuity and life in the Church; we claim to be lineally descended in spirit, though sometimes not in letter, from those who are acknowledged to be the best and wisest leaders of the Church in ancient times; we regard the exclusive possession of the Church by the dominant school of the day as alike injurious to the Church itself and personally unjust to ourselves; we maintain that our variations from the constitution, the doctrine, or the discipline of the Church are not greater than yours."

Take, for example, in the Roman Catholic Church, the celibacy of the clergy, or the dogma of the Pope's Infallibility. "We maintain" (the Old Catholics might and do say) "that the variation from the established usage of the modern Roman Catholic Church in these respects is not greater than the defiance which well-known highly-favoured Roman Catholics offer to ecclesiastical or Papal decrees which forbid them to have money in the bank, which forbid them to

have intercourse with heretics, which forbid them to possess and read books which are placed on the 'Index,' which command them to believe in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, in the supreme and unerring authority of the Vulgate translation, in the reality of witchcraft and demonology. Such deviations are one and all irreconcilable with the strict letter of Catholic orthodoxy." "We contend" (in like manner it may be said by the English Latitudinarians or Puritans) "that we do not vary from the law or doctrine of the Church of England more than those who justify their position by the strained interpretations of Tract 90; who maintain the infallibility of General Councils, which the Articles declare to be fallible; who despise the Royal Supremacy, which runs through the whole framework of our Constitution; who have difficulty in accepting the Calvinistic or Lutheran statements respecting Justification and Predestination; who adopt only one form of expression and reject the others which are contained in the Anglican formularies respecting the Sacraments; and who undervalue if they do not deny the supreme importance attached in all parts of these formularies (with a single exception), to Christian life and morality over form or opinion." "We claim also" (this may be said by the Liberal Protestants of France) "to be as true descendants of the ancient leaders of French Protestantism as you, the ruling party, who re-

ject the Confession of La Rochelle." "We maintain" (so it may be said by those Nonconformists in England or those Free Churchmen in Scotland who decline to regard an Established Church or an endowed Church as a deadly evil) "that we have as much right to our Nonconformist positions as you, who enter without scruple into Parliament, who enjoy endowed Professorships, who have Trust-deeds which bring you directly under the Civil Courts." "We maintain" (so may the higher spirits of all the Scottish Churches assert) "that if we depart from the letter of the Westminster Confession and Directory in some respects, so do even the strictest advocates of Covenanting theology depart not less completely in other respects."

And not only so, but in these several cases the disagreeing party have often a right to regard themselves, rather than those who would exclude them, as constituting the real representatives of the Church to which they belong. As the French Liberal Protestants certainly move more in the general spirit of Antoine Court, the second founder of the Huguenot Church, than do their so-called "orthodox" opponents—as the English Latitudinarians certainly approach more nearly to the spirit of the first Reformers, like Erasmus and Colet, Tyndale, and Cranmer, and also to the Church of Tillotson, Butler, and Paley, and to the mass of educated

lay Churchmen of the present and of former generations, than do their opponents—as the defenders of Establishments amongst Nonconformists may fairly say that they are more truly the sons of the Westminster Assembly, of Wesley and of Chalmers, than the exclusive adherents of modern "Voluntaryism"—as the old "Revolution settlement" of the Church of Scotland is more faithfully exhibited in the "moderate" and philosophical and practical genius which has never wholly departed from it, than in its purely Calvinistic or Covenanting elements—so also the "Old Catholics" may fairly say that they more justly claim that name than those Ultramontanes who, even by Montalembert, were called the "Neo-Catholics" of the nineteenth century. In outward profession and speech they may be a minority, but in inward sentiment they represent the silent majority of educated Roman Catholics throughout Europe. They also, much more than their opponents, represent the moderation of ancient Gallicanism—of Bossuet and Fénelon and Huet; the glories of Port Royal, who are the glories of the Church of France—Nicole, Fleury, Pascal. The submission of the Bishops to the Pope's Infallibility is directly in violation of their own oaths of consecration to admit no interpretations but such as have the general consent of the Fathers. Dr. Lyon Playfair urged, with perfect justice, in the debate to which we

have already referred on the Irish University, that it was the modern Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, who had departed from the standard of education in the Catholic Church before the Reformation; that they and not their opponents are the dissentients from the principle of free teaching laid down by Pope Clement V. and Chancellor Gerson. Henry IV., the most beneficent and beloved of modern French kings, combined the Protestant and Catholic elements of Christianity to an extent now rarely seen. We have only to read the speech of his in announcing the Edict of Nantes to see, in the most important respects, its complete divergence from modern Ultramontanism, its complete identity with Old Catholicism. The extreme principle of the modern Legitimists is often now regarded as the main representative of the prevailing principles of the French Church. The powerful protests against Papal Infallibility and Jesuit theology in the Memoirs of S. Simon are what the ruling party of the present Roman Church denounce as anti-Christian or infidel. But it was truly remarked (after one of the numerous manifestos of the Legitimist Chief), by one well qualified to judge—doubtless with the examples of S. Louis before his mind —"The Comte de Chambord keeps his eye steadily fixed on the Vatican, as did his ancestors; but the difference is that he looks at the Vatican to admire

or imitate its excesses, whereas his ancestors looked at it to guard against its exaggerations or to protect the liberties of their own Church and nation from its tyranny."

On all these points it may be truly urged that the Ultramontanes of the various churches are as really nonconforming members of the Church to which they belong, as those who are often represented as traitors or rebels. And the advantage which accrues, in all these cases, to the Church from the co-existence of these diverse tendencies, is similar. The Ultramontane Catholics, once freed from the presence of the element which the Old Catholics represent, would be left to drag down the venerable institution to which they belong, into a state of degradation which must ultimately lead to its total destruction. The Liberal Catholics, parted from the general stream of historical and national tradition in the Catholic Church, would probably become a bitter antagonistic sect, which, if it continued at all, would maintain itself in a stunted, one-sided, polemical position, hardly worth contending for. The English Latitudinarians, by the very nature of the case, neither in the time of Lord Falkland, nor in the time of the Cambridge Platonists, nor in the time of Bishop Butler, could have thought it worth while to occupy one amongst many of the questionable positions claimed by the different English sects. The "Liberal Protest-

ants" of France, already suffering from the narrowness and limitation produced partly by the violence of the French party, partly by the smallness of the circles in which French Protestantism exists, would feel this more and more in proportion as they became altogether a distinct body; whilst on the other hand the Puritan section of their Church would lose the stimulating influences which now, through contact with such men as Colani, Coquerel, and Fontanès, they are enabled in some degree to absorb, and, so far as the tendency of their opponents is evil, to neutralize it. Wesleyans, who maintain the great principles of Catholic charity and of attachment to the Church of England, laid down by their founder, had far better continue their protest within the Methodist communion, than form a new and small section outside of it.

And it should be observed that this claim to belong to the larger body, though disagreeing from it, is sometimes put forward by the Ultramontane sections themselves. It is the claim which, whenever in a state of depression, as for example, when attacked by the Pope for their conduct in China, or when suppressed by Clement XIV., the Jesuits endeavoured to maintain in the Roman Church. It is the position vindicated by a venerable representative of the extremest section of the French Ultramontanes, whom his adversaries assert to have been condemned by the

Vatican Council, whilst he in return taunts them with having suppressed a counter-decree, by which his views, as he alleges, were sanctioned.[1] It was the position also, to a certain extent, claimed by the Puritan section of the Church of Geneva, which at the beginning of this century terminated in the unfortunate schism which has been perpetuated. It is the claim, justly put forward, in the moments when they have been unduly depressed, by the hierarchical school in the Church of England, in virtue of the germs or fragments of sacerdotal or sacramental teaching embedded in the English formularies.

Every Church has at least two tendencies at work which together form the current of its existence. A favourite weapon of attack on the Church of England, is the allegation that it is impossible to defend the maintenance of a Church which includes divergent views of Christian theology. If this impossibility were once admitted, there is not a Church in Christendom that could hold its ground for a year. It is as a protest against any such necessity of uniformity that the wide rent disclosed in the Roman Church by the division between the supporters and deniers of the Pope's fallibility becomes so interesting. Even before the Reformation there were parties and sects analogous

1 See the curious controversy on "Traditionalism" in the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne," 6th series, vol. v. pp. 35–42.

to those in the Reformed Churches.[1] The services, the creeds, the traditions, the decisions of the Catholic Church, are fraught with contradictions as irreconcilable as those which exist in the liturgies and confessions of England, Augsburg, or Geneva. The Church or Churches in communion with the see of Rome are now rent from top to bottom by a division deeper in principle than any amongst Protestants. This is a decisive proof that the Roman Church has no peculiar claim to unity—no special exemption from the ordinary laws of human society. But this is not in itself a reproach. It is the glory or the infirmity which the Church of Rome shares in common with all civilized Churches. Its humiliation and shame consists in the unworthy and futile endeavour to conceal or deny it.

If it be said that there is and ought to be no halting-place anywhere except in the extreme consequence of our opinions, and that this is the especial weakness of the Old Catholic agitation, it may be replied first that this is an inconsistency which applies to every serious religious movement and to every great religious institution throughout the world. No doubt, there is a limit to such variations, and compromise may go

[1] See Erasmus's "Enchiridion," Preface, p. 8, where he speaks of the quarrels between the different orders and schools in the Catholic Church, exactly as modern Roman Catholics speak of the divisions of Protestants.

too far. But the fact remains. Christianity itself, as it now exists, is a compromise between the religion of the first and the religion of the nineteenth century, and it is the wisdom and policy alike of individuals and of communities to blend and to bear with the conflicting elements as best they can. The Roman Church, with all its sacerdotal pretensions, has deep seated in its vitals the original taint—shall we not say the original splendour?—of that Protestant freedom, which it contracted when it broke away from the Holy Orthodox Church of the East, and on what would now be called rational, or sceptical, grounds, abolished the ancient Catholic practice of Infant Communion, and the still more venerable and once indispensable practice of Baptism by Immersion. The narrowest sect—the very "dissidence of dissent"—has wrapt up amongst the household gods which it carried from the burning of Babylon, the germs of the rigid sacerdotal theory, which it only needs a return towards the barbarism of pure sectarianism to foster into gigantic proportions.

And, secondly, there is in this alleged inconsistency something even of an excellence. A Scottish Episcopalian, of much humour and genius, once said to an Englishman whom he was taking to a Presbyterian church, and speaking of two common friends, "He is a Presbyterian by mistake, and he (the other) is

an Episcopalian by mistake. But these kind of mistaken Churchmen are the very salt of their respective Churches." And so in the very dubiousness and crepuscular character of the Old Catholic movement lies one of its main interests. "What is halfness? what are half measures? what is inconsistency?" asked Professor Hüber in the conference of the Old Catholics at Cologne. "It is to be on the road, and not yet to have reached the goal. It is the necessary characteristic of every true development. Every mortal man is in this sense but half himself. But in the only meaning in which the charge would be a reproach, we are not half-hearted—for we wish the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; we are engaged in a vast process of historical revision—in an endeavour to distinguish the eternal from the temporary, the essential from the non-essential in Christianity, and it is the thoroughness and earnestness with which this process is conducted that is thrown in our teeth."

There are, besides this general ground of interest in the Old Catholic movement, some of a more special kind. But before entering on these, it would be well to anticipate an objection which may be brought both against the general attitude here ascribed to it, and also against some of the specific points which shall be alleged.

It is sometimes urged as a reason against the possibility of any sympathy between the Liberal Catholics in the Roman Church and the Liberal Protestants of the Protestant Churches, that the theological position of many of the Old Catholics resembles that of those who in the Church of England or of Germany occupy the position which is often, and not improperly, called Ultramontane in the more general sense. But when, in two Churches, one section of each is gradually approaching towards the other, there must be a point of intersection where the advancing and receding companies meet each other, and yet their faces may be set in totally opposite directions. When Don Ulloa visited Quito, half way up the Andes, he found there travellers of whom, whilst some had descended from the summit of the mountain, some had ascended from the burning plains below. These travellers were all, for the moment, in the same inn, but whereas those who had descended were perspiring with the heat of the warmer atmosphere which encountered them on their descent from the snows above, the others were freezing with cold in recollection of the plains which they had left behind them. The feeling of those two sets of travellers was not more unlike than that of those who have been sometimes brought together in the flux or reflux of theological thought. When we remember the way in which Dr. Döllinger spoke of

Luther as the Titan genius of the sixteenth century, and compare with this the uniformly disparaging tone adopted towards the great Reformer by the Oxford school, from Dr. Newman downwards; when we remember how the Catholic Professor of Munich pronounced that the Protestant theology of Germany contained six times the value of the works produced by the Catholic Church in Germany during the same period, and contrast this with the usual expressions adopted by that same school in England towards German theology (with the single exception of the excellent but now unfortunately repudiated and forgotten book of Dr. Pusey), it is impossible not to infer the difference of the aspirations which respectively animate the two classes of minds towards their desired goals.

But not the less ought we to hail the approximation of the English High Churchmen towards the Old Catholics as indications of an unconscious olive branch held out by them towards principles and persons that elsewhere provoke in them sentiments of so much hostility and suspicion. Even amongst the most exclusive schools there is in the "Anima naturaliter Christiana," a desire for Christian sympathy with others not of our own fold which cannot be altogether restrained. "*Naturam expellas furcâ; tamen usque recurret.*" The pent-up feeling has found its

vent here, and we need not grudge it. There is something to hope from finding that those who are at home so fearful of every approach to our Nonconforming brethren—who dread every expression of inquiry or of freedom—are not averse to contact with men like Schulte, like Reinkens, like Döllinger, whose estimate of these matters in Germany amounts to a solution which, if adopted in England, would solve and sweeten half the difficulties which perplex our course.

And now let us ask what light is thrown on the specific agitations of our time by this movement?

1. The question which is often asked, "What is authority?" has been answered by the Old Catholics in a sense which, so far as it goes, admits of no mistake. They have, no doubt, a profound, perhaps exaggerated, respect for the continuous historical traditions of Christendom, and they have shown themselves naturally unwilling to break with the old ecclesiastical organization of their Church. But in the last resort they have indicated clearly that when the choice was to be made between the authority of science and history on the one side, and official ecclesiastical authority on the other side, they have preferred the former. The Bishops are clearly not to them the successors of the Apostles, in any sense which confers an authority in the way of teaching. Nine hundred Bishops—the largest number ever assembled in the world—have (with one possible

exception) in spite of the expressed convictions of many of them that they knew the Pope's infallibility to be a fable, accepted it not only as true, but as part of the eternal truth of Christianity. When, with a culpable indifference the governments of Europe declined to support them, the ecclesiastical oracles of Christendom abdicated their spiritual independence, and submitted at once to the pressure of the Roman court. This all but unanimous consent of the Bishops has been absolutely repudiated by the Old Catholics, as it is also by all who sympathise with them. Such a repudiation is a decisive declaration that the exclusive right of spiritual discernment and teaching is not bound up with the Episcopal succession. The Episcopate, indeed, has a magnificent mission in Christendom whenever and wherever Bishops make use of their grand historical position to speak their convictions, instead of concealing them—to develop and improve, instead of obstructing—to guide and to bring together, instead of putting asunder. It has a magnificent mission in England now—and some of our Bishops well discharge it. It had a magnificent opportunity in the Vatican Council. But even in the judgment of those who accepted the result that opportunity was totally and hopelessly lost.

2. Again, the Old Catholics have made a step at least towards solving the question of the grounds of

Christian union. The Old Catholics have shown themselves to be capable of exalting the moral truths of our common Christianity to a height far above that of the opinions of the fourth, fifth, seventh, thirteenth, and sixteenth centuries. When their leaders met, on the platform at Cologne, Greek priests, Anglican Bishops, and Protestant pastors of every shade with hearty welcome, that was the proclamation of an eternal truth, or if we like so to call it, an eternal dogma, which dwarfed and put to flight the fleeting opinions of Fathers and Schoolmen, and Popes and Councils, to which in these later years the name of "dogma" has been almost exclusively applied. Nothing could be more widely different than the attitude of the Old Catholics on this point, and that of the Ultramontane party, which considers that there is no salvation outside of the pale of particular churches, or outside of the form of particular creeds. All their expressions breathed the most fraternal spirit, not only to members of the Anglican and Oriental Churches, but to the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany. It was no new sentiment in their school. When Döllinger laid down in his Lectures that all Protestants by virtue of their baptism belonged to the Catholic Church, he went a long way towards rechurching those whom so many ecclesiastical authorities of his Church and others had for so long unchurched. When

he stated in his oration at Munich many years ago, that it is as heretical to make an article of faith that which is not an article of faith as it is to make that which is an article of faith not an article; when he declared that union was not to be looked for in organic, immediate combination, not in an absorption of one Church by the other, but in a process of purification needful for all alike in a mutual filling up of the defects and onesidedness of each,—he adopted a position which would reduce to their proper proportions the Ultramontane claims of every Church, whether Roman, or Anglican, or Puritan. Professor Bluntschli, who at Cologne represented the Protestant Churches of Germany, laid down the position that "whereas in former ecclesiastical conflicts, every Church had laid claim to the possession of absolute truth, it must be the principle of the Church of the future that every formulization of truth is not absolute but relative. The principle of mutual oppression and absorption was over —the principle of the moral union of Churches was to begin." Professor Michelis described how thirty years ago he had, as a student, seen the magnificent cathedral of Cologne unfinished, ruined; its towers parted from its nave, its nave from its choir,—and how now he found it rapidly advancing towards completion—choir and nave united in one—its stately proportions restored, its original plan carried out. "In this out-

ward fact, I see," he said, "what may yet be in store for the divided, ruined Church of Christ, once more to be united and brought together in its several parts. And the parable," he added, "derives a further significance from the fact that the restoration of this Catholic cathedral was set on foot by a Protestant king; it is only with the help of Protestantism that Catholicism can be united and regenerated." Professor Reinkens, since chosen as the Bishop of the new community, devoted the whole of an affecting and powerful speech to setting forth that the new hope of unity consisted in the growing belief that it was not to be found in uniformity, and in the suppression of national peculiarities—not in immobility, but in free development—not in the efforts of official authorities, but of individual Christians. This (far more than in the ingenious manipulation, instructive as it has been, of the detailed differences of the various Churches) is the permanent benefit of the late Conference at Bonn. This, too, we are convinced, is the true policy, is the avowed desire of the nobler and gentler spirits of the Eastern Church, who bring with them to such considerations a pacific and healing spirit all their own.

3. Again, the Old Catholic movement is a proof that the world has not wholly fallen under the sway of the modern fancy, shared by all the Ultramontanes, whether

in Italy, France, or England, of the independence of the clergy from the State. The Old Catholics, in Germany and Switzerland, have seen through the fiction of "a free church in a free state." No doubt the relations of a government to a Church, where the feelings of antagonism and indifference have taken deep root, are fraught with difficulties of which the present conflicts in Prussia and in Geneva have given ample experience. But in principle the appeal to Cæsar, with the Old Catholics, as with St. Paul, is an Erastianism of which they are not ashamed, because it is not only a vindication of their national rights, but because it is an appeal to the most intelligent, the most patriotic, the most loyal part of the nation. They know how slight would have been the progress of the Reformation if Frederick the Wise of Saxony, and the Protestant Princes at Spires, and Elizabeth of England, and Coligny and Condé in France had stood aloof from the movement. They know that a wholesome condition of religious life is not to be found where the culture and social life of the nation are kept apart from it.

4. There are no doubt many weaknesses in the Old Catholic movement, as in all movements of the kind. There are the logical inconsistencies of which we have before spoken. There are the complicated difficulties attendant on their organization. There are, in some

of its leaders, what may seem to us too hard, too dry, too austere a temper in weighing the faults and even the virtues of the great and famous Church under whose yoke they have been oppressed. There may have been in some too little consciousness of the advantages which the historical development of Christianity has brought with it—in others, too rigid an adherence to the outward form of the crude Christianity of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. There is what is the inherent weakness, as it also is the latent strength, of a cause which depends for its support on the educated laity, who are either too indifferent or too timid to express the sympathy which they know to be its due. There is the impatience of the great outside world, which demands immediate results, and will not turn aside even to look at a phenomenon which is attached by no visible links with the party politics of the day. There are the dissensions inevitably arising in all such independent uprisings of intellect or conscience—not only from the various shades of opinion which these uprisings foster and must include, but from the recriminations which are naturally but not justly thrown out by the followers who charge the leaders with unworthy caution, and the leaders who charge the followers with unwise precipitation.

From these and a hundred other causes it is only too easy to join in the prediction which is often uttered

in Germany as elsewhere, that "the movement will lose itself in the sands." But the true answer to this prediction is that which was given at Cologne by the eloquent orator who has since become the official chief of the community, who, after looking full in the face all the hindrances by which the movement was beset, added, with a proud appeal to the local and patriotic feelings of his audience:—"Yes! it may lose itself in the sands, as the German Rhine loses itself in the sands on the shores of the ocean—but not the less has it in its upper course created glorious lakes, formed a highway of civilization, and brought fertility and life to the valleys which it waters." So no doubt it may be with this movement. It may totally fail of producing any visible results. But the excellence of a struggle of this kind does not depend on its worldly or its immediate success. We do not speak here of the testimony borne by those who have been present at the various meetings of the Old Catholic body. The most permanent claim of the Old Catholic movement on our interest, is the witness which it has borne to the force of independent and honest conviction against tremendous odds. It is this open and manly expression of dissent, this free and firm demand for reform, much more than the particular objects against which or for which the protest is made, that constitutes the value, and that justifies the experiment, of such a reforming school within

the Church, wherever it be, that is the scene of the struggle. Many, doubtless, in the Roman Catholic Church, both laity and clergy, hold the same opinions as the Old Catholics, but few have spoken; and whereas the reticence of the many is the canker and misery of the whole Church to which they belong, the utterance of the few is the sole condition of their remaining lawfully and with a good conscience within the pale of a Church to which they can only adhere in the hope of eliminating its worse and developing its better elements.

Amongst these few, two names still remain conspicuous. One is that of the venerable Professor at Munich, who has again this year given proof of his unshaken independence and youthful energy of purpose. Of all the claims of Döllinger to our veneration and admiration, the one which will shine out most brightly for after times is that he, in his declining years, and with his cautious, retiring temperament, should on the simple ground of historical truth have stood out alike against solicitation and intimidation. "I am an old man," he said, "and I cannot go before the judgment-seat of God with a lie in my right hand."

And still more may this be said of the yet more solitary witness to the need of a free and unfettered protestation apart from the reticence and subterfuges of worldly policy—whose Fragments, Letters, and Dis-

courses are here given to the world—Father Hyacinthe. They would be rash diviners who in the presence of so many dangers to the right hand and to the left, with the recollection of so many who have fallen under the terrors or the seductions of the great party which assumes to itself the name of "the Catholic Church,"—we may add, under the fascination, no less formidable, of the violent reactions against it,—amidst the difficulties, no less trying, of friends who cannot be controlled, and disciples who outrun their leaders,—should venture to predict that he will walk erect where so many have stumbled, that he will go firmly forward to the end, when so many have been led astray into tortuous bypaths and safe hiding-places. They would be rash who would maintain that in his perilous course he has been able to avoid the weaknesses and the snares which beset the career of everyone who advocates the cause of Reform without Revolution, of Faith without Fanaticism; who would deny that in the rough path which belongs no less to ecclesiastical than political warfare, he may have mistaken temporary difficulties for permanent obstacles, and suffered from the defects of an education not best fitted to promote a practical and wide survey of history and human life. But not the less interesting and instructive will it be to have a record of struggles sustained with a rare sincerity, consistency, and humility.

Such a record is contained in the following fragments of Letters and Addresses, delivered at intervals in France, America, Italy, England, and Switzerland. It will be obvious to the reader, that no translation—not even when inspired by the most intimate knowledge and appreciation of the original writer—can do justice to the burning rhetoric and the delicate turns of French oratory. And doubtless many expressions will be found open to criticism, whether from the side of history or theology. But it is believed that this collection will give a faithful indication of the various experiences by which Father Hyacinthe has arrived at his present position, and which he has shared more or less with the other leaders of the Old Catholic movement. Nor will the record be less important if it shows (in the extracts from writings previous to his rupture with the Roman authorities in 1869) the continuity of his past and present existence, or (in such views as those expressed in the Address on the Franco-German war in 1870) the independence of his views on other than ecclesiastical subjects. And, under any circumstances, it is hoped that even to those who may take but little concern in the special subject discussed, there may be an interest in the spectacle of one who, with a character of so much simplicity and tenderness, remained firm when so many around him gave way, and step by step strove, however imperfectly, to follow

out the dictates of an independent conscience, and to act on the convictions which he had slowly and surely formed. In a time when so many, whether within or without the Roman Church, seek amidst its conflicting and contradictory elements only or chiefly to revive whatever there is of local and material, of superstitious credulity, or of anti-social exclusiveness, it may be edifying to watch the course of one who with such tender affection towards the Church of his fathers has laboured to insist on whatever elements exist in it or can be breathed into it of the spiritual life, of domestic and national sentiment, of the love of truth and freedom, such as have found their chief homes in the churches and nations of the Reformation.

ARTHUR P. STANLEY.

November 5, 1874.

Dedication

TO

CHARLES THEODORE BAUDRY,

PRIEST OF ST. SULPICE,

WHO DIED BISHOP OF PÉRIGUEUX,

BUT LIVES IN CHRIST.

I BEHOLD you still in that dear cell of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in which, at the close of one of our days of study and prayer, I so loved to come and rest beside you. You were a priest, I a Levite; you the master, I the scholar. In age we were separated by only ten years; in heart we were joined by a peculiar friendship. That was twenty-four years ago. Then, as now, the cannon of civil war had been thundering in Paris, and the blood of a martyr-archbishop was reeking on its pavements. You spoke to me of the Word by whom the world was made, by whom society is to be restored. You taught me that when He kindled for the soul of man the

[1] [Monseigneur Affré, who was shot on the barricades in Paris in 1848. TR.]

noonday brightness of faith, He did not mean thereby to obscure the dawning light of reason. And you told me His name, the name which He took when He was made man, and keeps throughout eternity, and it was the same name which I learned to bless upon my mother's knee—the name of Jesus.

While you spoke of these things my heart burned within me, and the ardour of my youth laid hold of the invisible but real beauty which you unveiled before it, and to whose service I consecrated myself till death and for the life beyond.

Dear teacher of my youth, to you, under God, I owe it that I am a priest.

Years have passed. You have returned to heaven, which had but lent you to us for a season; I remain upon the earth, which grows sadder every day. I have dwelt in solitude; I have walked amid hindrances and deceptions without number; I have toiled on towards that sublime ideal which men will none of. For that, I renounced the happiness of a home, I consented to have no pillow on which to rest my head, no hearth to welcome me with its warmth in winter, its cheerfulness in summer. But I did wish at least a Church and a country—those two homes of the soul. Both have been torn from me, at one and the same time. What can I do for France in ruins? And is it not because I am a priest that all means of rendering my

country any useful service are taken from me by a blind and unpitying prejudice? Is it not because I am a priest, that I am impotent to do anything for the Church which is tottering on the verge of the precipice? Is it not just because I took in serious earnest the priesthood as you taught it me, O true priest of Jesus Christ—because I believed in the two holiest liberties of the soul, the liberty of conscience and the liberty of speech—that I am repelled from the pulpit where I have declared the Gospel of Christ, and the altar where I have accomplished His mystery?

And yet, dear friend and counsellor of my early years, I do not reproach you—nay, I bless you. You told me nothing but the truth, you did me nothing but good. The calling of the priest was my calling, and no earthly power can forbid me its exercise. For the duty of the priesthood is to bear witness to the Truth; and its reward in this life is to suffer for the Truth—sometimes to die for it.

HYACINTHE.

PARIS, *June 14th*, 1872.
The twenty-first anniversary of my ordination to the priesthood.

TO THE READER.

THE detached pages herewith presented to the public have as little of literary unity as of literary value. But considered from a moral point of view I believe that they possess a real unity and value; and this is the main point in an age in which there is such abundance of books and such lack of deeds. Every one of these pages is the act of a conscience subjected to the most formidable trial which the soul of man can experience—a trial which is all the more worthy of attention in that it is intimately and immediately connected with that which the Church itself is undergoing at this moment.

I may be deceived; in fact, many a time in my life I have been deceived; but I have never been a deceiver. Absolute sincerity, above all in matters of religion, has been the invariable rule of my speech and writing. Sincerity towards others, and sometimes towards itself, is the thing most lacking to the conscience of our day; and this lack, I am convinced, is one of the principal causes of the evil from which we are suffering, and of which we shall certainly die, if nothing is done besides pointing it out, without making any effort to cure it.

Whoever shall be willing to follow me through these fugitive pages and disconnected fragments, can at least be assured that he is reading my inmost soul, and observing, unobscured by any precaution of worldly prudence, or even of ecclesiastical policy, the authentic results of a life entirely devoted to the study and practice of religion. They will see how, as I conceive, one can and ought to remain Catholic, and even recognize, in their legitimate exercise, the constituted authorities of the Church, while at the same time openly and energetically resisting them in their abuse of the "authority which is given them, not for destruction but for edification,"[1] and in their seeming forgetfulness that "they can do nothing against the truth."[2]

Neither slaves nor rebels: let this be the motto of those who are now-a-days called Old Catholics. They must remain on this ground in order to organize and extend their work; and out of their action, combined with the events which God is preparing, there will, at no distant day, come forth great results. It was but lately that this was acknowledged by rationalism itself, through one of its most distinguished representatives: "The horizon of Catholicism, now so contracted, may open and give glimpses of depths hitherto unknown."[3]

[1] 2 Corinthians x. 8. [2] 2 Corinthians xiii. 8.

[3] M. Ernest Renan: "La Réforme Intellectuelle et Morale."

PREFATORY LETTER OF FATHER HYACINTHE TO SOME OF THE DISCOURSES PUBLISHED IN AMERICA.

To the Rev. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *Brooklyn.*

Reverend Sir,—

I am as much gratified as surprised at the honour you are disposed to do to the few discourses I have published in Europe. Some of them are actually the production of my pen; but these are very few, and relate to circumstances of time and place which I fear will have no interest for American readers. The others, more important in their object, since they are part of the course of Conferences instituted at Notre Dame by the Archbishop of Paris, are extant only in detached parts, taken down hastily in short-hand, and the gaps filled by an imperfect summary.

I should have been glad, I acknowledge, if I could have brought to America something less unworthy of the sympathy with which I have been welcomed here,

and which I shall always reckon among the greatest honours and the purest joys of my life.

Such as they are, however, I commit these rude productions to the indulgence of your readers. Frenchman and Catholic as I am, I present them, through your hands, to that great American republic of which you are a citizen, to those numerous and flourishing Protestant churches of which you are a minister.

I am proud of my France, but I deem it one of its most solid glories to have contributed to the independence of this noble country, which it has never ceased to love, and which it shall some day learn to imitate;—a people with which liberty is something else than a barren theory or a blood-stained experiment; with which the cause of labour is never confounded with that of revolution, and never divorced from that of religion; and which, rearing under all forms and denominations its houses of prayer amid its houses of commerce and finance, crowns its busy and productive week with the sweetness and majesty of its Lord's Day. "And on the seventh day it ends the work which it has made, and rests the seventh day from all its work which it has made."[1]

I remain faithful to my Church; and if I have lifted up my protest against the excesses which dishonour it and seem bent upon its ruin, you may measure the in-

[1] Genesis ii. 2.

tensity of my love for it by the bitterness of my lamentation. When He who is in all things our Master and our Example armed Himself with the scourge against the profaners of the Temple, His disciples remembered that it was written, "The zeal of Thy house hath eaten me up." I remain faithful to my Church; but I am none the less sensible of the interest which will be taken in other Churches in what I may say or do within the pale of Catholicism. And on the other hand, I have never deemed that the Christian communions separated from Rome were disinherited of the Holy Ghost, and without a part in the immense work of the preparation of the kingdom of God. In my intercourse with some of the most pious and learned of their members, I have experienced, in those depths of the soul where illusion is impossible, the unutterable blessing of the communion of saints. Whatever divides us externally in space and time, vanishes like a dream before that which unites us within,—the grace of the same God, the blood of the same Redeemer, the hopes of the same eternity. Whatever our prejudices, our alienations, or our irritations, under the eye of God, who seeth what we cannot see,—under His hand, which leadeth us whither we would not go,—we are all labouring in common for the upbuilding of that Church of the Future which shall be the Church of the Past in its original purity and beauty; but shall have gathered to itself, besides,

the depth of its analyses, the breadth of its syntheses, the experience of its toils, its struggles, and its griefs through all these centuries.

In the sad days of schism and captivity, the word of the Lord came to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, "Thou son of man, take thee one stick and write upon it, 'For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions;' then take another stick, and write upon it, 'For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and all the house of Israel his companions;' and join them one to another into one stick, and they shall become one in thy hand."[1]

To me, likewise, who am the least of Christians, in those spiritual visions which are ever vouchsafed to longing souls, the Lord hath spoken. He hath placed in my hand these two sundered and withered branches—Rome and the children of Israel who follow her; the Churches of the Reformation and the nations that are with them. I have pressed them together on my heart, and under the outpouring of my tears and prayers I have so joined them that henceforth they might make but one tree. But men have laughed to scorn my effort, seemingly so mad, and have asked of me, as of that ancient seer, "Wilt thou not show us what thou meanest by these things?"[2] And while I gaze upon that trunk so bare and mutilated, even

[1] Ezekiel xxxvii. 16, 17. [2] Ibid. 18.

now I seem to see the brilliant blossom and the savoury fruit.

"One God, one faith, one baptism."

"And there shall be one flock and one shepherd."

BROTHER HYACINTHE.

HIGHLAND FALLS, ALL-SOULS' DAY,
Nov. 2, 1869.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I.—LETTERS 3

II.—FRAGMENTS 53

III.—DISCOURSES 129

APPENDIX 191

I.

LETTERS.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

CATHOLIC REFORM.

I.—LETTERS.

To the GENERAL *of the* BAREFOOTED CARMELITES, *Rome.*

PARIS—PASSY, *September* 20, 1869.

VERY REVEREND FATHER,

For the five years of my ministry at Notre Dame de Paris, in spite of the open attacks and secret accusations of which I have been the object, your esteem and confidence have never for one moment failed me. I retain numerous testimonials of this in your own handwriting, which relate as well to my preaching as to myself. Whatever may occur, I shall hold this in grateful remembrance.

Now, however, by a sudden shift, the cause of which I do not look for in your heart, but in the intrigues of a party omnipotent at Rome, you find fault with what you have encouraged, blame what you have approved, and require me to use such language or maintain such

silence as would no longer be the full and loyal expression of my conscience.

I do not hesitate a moment. With speech falsified by official orders, or mutilated by enforced reticences, I could not again enter the pulpit of Notre Dame. I express my regret for this to the intelligent and courageous bishop who has placed and kept me there in face of the ill-will of the men of whom I have been speaking. I express my regret for it to the imposing audience which there surrounded me with its attention, its sympathies, I had almost said, its friendship. I should be worthy neither of the audience, nor of the bishop, nor of my conscience, nor of God, if I could consent to play such a part in their presence.

At the same time I withdraw from my convent, which, in the new circumstances that are imposed upon me, has become to me a prison of the soul. In so doing I am not unfaithful to my vows. I have promised monastic obedience, but within the limits of an honest conscience, and of the dignity of my person and ministry. I have promised it under favour of that higher law of justice, the "royal law of liberty," which, according to the apostle James, is the proper law of the Christian.

The most untrammeled enjoyment of this holy liberty is what I came to seek in the cloister now more than ten years ago, under the impulse of an enthusiasm pure

from all worldly calculation : I dare not add, free from all youthful illusion. If, in exchange for my sacrifices, I am now offered chains, it is not merely my right, it is my duty to reject them.

This is a solemn hour. The Church is passing through one of the most violent crises, one of the darkest and most decisive of its earthly existence. For the first time in three hundred years an Ecumenical Council is not only summoned but declared *necessary*—this is the language of the Holy Father. It is not at such a moment that a preacher of the Gospel, were he the least among them all, can consent to hold his peace like the "dumb dogs" of Israel, faithless guardians whom the prophet reproaches because "they could not bark." *Canes muti, non valentes latrare.*

The saints are never dumb. I am not one of them ; and yet I know that I am come of that stock—*filii sanctorum sumus*—and it has ever been my ambition to place my steps, my tears, if need were my blood, in the footprints where they have left theirs.

I lift up, then, before the Holy Father and before the Council, my protest as a Christian and a priest against those doctrines and practices which call themselves Roman, but are not Christian, and which, making encroachments ever bolder and more deadly, tend to change the constitution of the Church, the substance as well as the form of its teaching, and even the spirit

of its piety. I protest against the divorce, as impious as it is mad, which men are striving to accomplish between the Church, our mother for eternity, and the society of the nineteenth century, whose sons we are for time, and toward which we have also both duties and affections. I protest against that opposition, still more radical and appalling, which sets itself against human nature, attacked and revolted by these false teachers in its holiest and most indestructible aspirations. I protest, above all, against the sacrilegious perversion of the Gospel of the Son of God Himself, the letter and the spirit of which are alike trodden under foot by the pharisaism of the new law.

It is my most profound conviction that if France in particular, and the Latin races in general, are given over to anarchy, social, moral, and religious, the chief cause of it is to be found, not, certainly, in Catholicism itself, but in the way in which Catholicism has for a long time past been understood and practised.

I appeal to the Council now about to assemble to seek remedies for our excessive evils, and to apply them gently but boldly. But if fears, which I am loth to share, should come to be realized — if that august assembly should have no more liberty in its deliberations than it has thus far had in its preparations—if, in a word, it should be stripped of the essential characteristics of an Ecumenical Council, I would lift up my

voice to God and man to demand another really assembled in the Holy Spirit, not in the spirit of party — really representing the universal Church, not the silence of some and the constraint of others. "For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt; I cry out in my trouble; astonishment hath taken hold on me. Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?"[1]

Finally, I appeal to thy bar, O Lord Jesus. *Ad tuum, Domine Jesu, tribunal appello.* It is in Thy presence that I write these lines. It is at Thy feet, after much prayer, much reflection, much suffering, and long waiting—at Thy feet that I subscribe them. I have this confidence concerning them, that though men may condemn them on earth, Thou wilt approve them in heaven. Living or dying, this is enough for me.

BROTHER HYACINTHE,
Superior of the Barefooted Carmelites of Paris,
Second Definitor of the Order in the Province of Avignon.

Letter of MONSEIGNEUR DUPANLOUP, *Bishop of Orléans.*

ORLÉANS, *September* 25, 1869.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

As soon as I heard from Paris what you were on the point of doing, I left no effort untried, as you

[1] Jeremiah viii. 21, 22.

know, to save you from what would be to yourself so great a fault and misfortune, and at the same time so great a sorrow to the Church. I sent off at once, and at night, your friend and old fellow-student, to prevent you if possible. But it was too late; the scandal was accomplished, and henceforth you can measure the mischief which you have wrought by the grief of all the friends of the Church, and the joy of all its enemies.

And now there is nothing I can do but pray God and appeal to yourself, that you may pause on this descent, which leads to depths which the perturbed eye of your soul has not seen.

I know that you have suffered. But let me tell you, I know that Father Lacordaire and Father de Ravignan suffered more than you, and rose higher in patience and strength through love of the Church and of Jesus Christ.

How could you but perceive the wrong you were doing the Church, your mother, by these reproachful anticipations? and the wrong you were doing Jesus Christ, in thus placing yourself before Him alone, to the scorn of his Church?

But I will and do hope. It will be but a momentary error.

Come back to us again. You have given the Catholic world this affliction; give it now a great comfort and a great example. Cast yourself at the feet of the Holy Father. His arms will be open to you, and pressing you to his fatherly heart, he will restore peace to your conscience, and honour to your life.

Accept from him who was once your bishop, and who

will never cease to love your soul, this testimony and counsel of a true and religious affection.[1]

✠ FELIX,
Bishop of Orléans.

Reply to MONSEIGNEUR DUPANLOUP, *Bishop of Orléans.*

MONSEIGNEUR,

I am deeply touched with the feeling which dictated the letter which you have done me the honour to write me, and very grateful for the prayers which you would offer in my behalf; but I cannot accept either the reproaches or the counsels which you address to me.

What you call a great fault committed, I call a great duty done.

Accept, Monseigneur, the tribute of respect with which I remain, in Jesus Christ and His Church, your very humble and obedient servant,

HYACINTHE.

[1] On the subject of this letter, published in the newspapers at the same time that it was addressed to me, M. de Montalembert wrote to me from La Roche-en-Breny, December 4, 1869: "The Bishop of Orléans passed two days here on his way to Rome. He loves you ever. I did not hide from him that you were much displeased with the publicity given to the letter which he wrote you. He replied, 'I am perfectly aware of it, but I could not do otherwise.'"

The Archbishop of Paris, who was far more concerned in the matter than the Bishop of Orléans, thought it not only possible, but right, to "do otherwise." I shall never forget the words which he said to me at the time, and which I here repeat as a tribute to his memory: "They want me to write against you. I tell them, 'Father Hyacinthe has a great deal to suffer just now. It is not good to trample on a suffering man. I would not do it in any man's case; least of all in his, with whom I desire to maintain affectionate relations.'"

Letter of MONSEIGNEUR DARBOY, *Archbishop of Paris, to the Reverend the General of the Barefooted Carmelites at Rome.*

PARIS, *December* 15, 1864.

REVEREND FATHER,

I learn with astonishment and pain, that accusations of the most unpleasant character have been carried all the way to Rome against Father Hyacinthe, preacher of the Advent Season, at Notre Dame de Paris, and that he has been presented as under suspicion, or perhaps even as guilty of heterodoxy.[1] I regard it as a duty to undertake the defence of this excellent monk, who is labouring in my diocese, and who is consequently entitled to my protection.

Not only have I no reproach to make against Father Hyacinthe, but I have the best reason to congratulate myself on his apostolic labours. By his talents he has at once created for himself an audience of about three thousand men, whom he holds attentive to his words, and whom he is well qualified to bring back to sound views, or confirm them therein. This, it must be acknowledged, is the cause of the annoyances to which he is subjected. He would not have been denounced if he had not been successful.

I intend writing of this to the Holy Father, who has perhaps already been approached with representations to the prejudice of this distinguished and deserving monk. But I authorize you, meanwhile, to present this letter to him, in order, if necessary, to reassure him. You may

[1] The anonymous accusers who attacked me, as the date of this letter shows, from the very beginning of my preaching at Notre Dame de Paris, allowed me no truce during the whole five years that I occupied that pulpit.

even say to his Holiness that, if I may but know the names of Father Hyacinthe's accusers, I do not despair of confounding them. I know that breed—brave in the dark, and cowards in the light.

I am happy, Reverend Father, to have this occasion of recommending myself to your prayers and those of your good brethren, and I tender you the assurance of my most devoted sentiments.

✠ GEORGE,
Archbishop of Paris.

Letter of MONSEIGNEUR DARBOY, *Archbishop of Paris.*

ROME, *February* 9, 1870.

MY DEAR FATHER HYACINTHE,—(for I cannot give up my habit of calling you by a name which you have made illustrious),—

I thank you for your thought that you would do me a pleasure in announcing to me your return to Paris. You would have gratified me very much if you had been able to tell me something of your plans for the future. An *expectant position* is not quite what your friends would wish for you. I know that a revolution, such as that which has been effected in your inward and outward life, must leave in the inmost soul impressions of various sorts which need to abate before one can distinctly see what course to take; and I confess that this is no case for sudden or abrupt dealing. But I have perhaps a better reason than some others for wishing soon to know what you mean to do. There is nothing but sympathy in this earnest desire and expectation, and the obliging words with which your

letter closes, show that you are convinced of this yourself.

Do not doubt, dear Father Hyacinthe, the continuance of the sentiments which you so well describe, and of my strong desire to serve you ; and accept the new assurance of my devoted affection.

✠ GEORGE,
Archbishop of Paris.

Answer to MONSEIGNEUR DARBOY, *Archbishop of Paris.*

PARIS, *February* 25, 1870.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I am deeply affected by the letter which you have done me the honour and the kindness to write to me. It draws closer than I can express the bonds of respectful gratitude and affection which bind me to you for life.

My plans for the future, if I had any, would be no secret to you, Monseigneur. I should feel not only the duty, but the need of communicating them to you. But after having made my situation to depend, as I have, on the issue of the Council, what plans can I have for the present? Events have done only too much to justify what the Bishop of Orléans called the "reproachful anticipations," expressed in my letter of the 20th of last September. The Council is no more free in its deliberations than it was in its preparation, and under the pressure of the blind and headstrong party which controls it, everything seems to go on towards the

wished-for result. Then will begin for the Catholic Church a crisis of which no man can foresee the character, the duration, or the event, but which will be as fruitful as it will be terrible. It is for this hour, now so nigh at hand, that I deem it my duty to hold myself in reserve, abiding, meanwhile, in the silence of reflection and prayer. I have no other ambition than to serve the Church in its solemn crisis, by all the means that Providence shall place in my power "through evil report and good report," with that disinterested and self-sacrificing love towards her which God has implanted in my heart.

This is all, Monseigneur, which I can possibly say at present On your return to Paris—not far distant, as you lead us to hope—I shall gladly open my heart to you with that simple and entire confidence with which you have always inspired me.

Accept, Monseigneur, with the expression of my gratitude, that of my deepest respect, affection, and devotion.

PROTEST *against the* DEFINITION *of* PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

PARIS, *July* 30, 1870.

Henceforth a grave question is put to all Catholics. Must they adhere to the definition of the infallibility of the Pope, or are they free to refuse their submission to it? Doubtless the proper character of our Church,

and the governing principle of our faith, is authority. But for that reason it is important to distinguish between an apparent and a real authority—between a blind submission and a reasonable and reflecting submission—a "reasonable service."

The question, then, may be thus defined:—Is the authority of the Vatican Council legitimate? or, in other words, does the Council now sitting possess the essential characteristics of an Ecumenical Council?

The first of these characteristics is liberty. Now, in spite of the secresy in which it has been attempted to bury the inner working of the Council, as if it were one of those operations of which the Gospel speaks, which have a natural affinity with darkness, and flee the light for fear of being judged,—the light has broken in upon it, and is going to break more clearly still. We know the repeated protests of so many illustrious bishops, representing the most important and enlightened portions of the Catholic world, and that recent letter, at once so respectful and so firm, by which, insisting on their negative vote, they have announced the reasons of their retreat from that dishonoured battle-field. The world can no longer be ignorant with what want of dignity or even seriousness the great interests of its faith have been treated by a majority whose factitious and illusory composition, and whose audacious tyranny would have been alike intolerable in the ancient Councils.

Another condition, not less important to the ecumenicity of a Council, is that it be recognized as ecumenical by the Church. The mission of a Council, in fact, is not to impose on the faithful new beliefs, but to maintain, and, if need be, define, the ancient beliefs. The bishops, first of all, are witnesses of the traditional and historic faith of their respective Churches, and of the Church universal; and their judicial sentence, limited in advance by the nature of this testimony, can be exercised only in case of truths which have been believed from the beginning, everywhere and always, as truths of revelation. *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.* If, then, they exceed their powers, the Church would not recognize its faith in the arbitrary work which they might have accomplished, and the Council would remain without authority.

Crises like these are not unexampled. To cite but one, history has recorded the names of Seleucia and Rimini, and that almost universal defection in which, to use the language of St. Jerome, the world groaned with astonishment to find itself Arian. The peril is not less at this hour, and if we may believe one of the most important prelates in the Council, Archbishop Kenrick, the Church has never known a greater danger.[1]

1 "Rem Ecclesiæ in maximum ex quo orta sit discrimen adduxerunt." Concio Petri Ricardi Kenrick, archi-episcopi S. Ludovici in Statibus Fœderatis Americæ Septentrionalis, in Concilio Vaticano habenda, at non habita. [This remarkable speech, reprinted from the edition printed at

At such moments it is the duty of the humblest Christian to lift up his voice in defence of his own faith, and the faith of the whole Church. For my own part, I feel myself urged from within to fulfil this duty, and, as the prophet says, to deliver my soul.

I protest, then, against the dogma of Papal Infallibility, as it is contained in the decree of the Council of Rome. It is because I am a Catholic, and will continue such, that I refuse to admit as obligatory upon the faith of believers a doctrine unknown to all ecclesiastical antiquity, contested even now by numerous and eminent theologians, and which implies, not a regular development, but a radical change in the constitution of the Church, and the immutable rule of its faith.

It is because I am a Christian, and will continue such, that I react with my whole soul against this apotheosis decreed to a man who is presented to our faith, I had almost said to our worship, as uniting in his person both the domination which is repugnant to the spirit of the Gospel of which he is a minister, and the infallibility which is incompatible with the clay of which he is moulded like ourselves. One of the

Naples, 1870, for private circulation among the members of the Council, is contained in Friedrich's "Documenta ad illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum;" a close translation of it into English is given in full in "An Inside View of the Vatican Council," published by the American Tract Society, 1871.]

most illustrious predecessors of Pius IX., Saint Gregory the Great, rejected as a sign of Antichrist the title of "universal bishop" which had been offered to him. What would he say to-day in presence of this very title, aggravated by the addition of that of *infallible pontiff!*[1]

On the 20th of September of last year I wrote the following lines on the subject of the Council then about to assemble:—"If fears which I do not wish to share should come to be realized,—if the august assembly should have no more liberty in its deliberations than it now has in its preparation;—if, in a word, it should be deprived of the characteristics essential to an Ecumenical Council, I would lift up my cry before God and man to demand another Council, assembled really in the Holy Spirit, and not in the spirit of party; representing really the Church universal, and not the silence of some and the oppression of others."

This is the cry which I this day put forth. I appeal to a Council truly free and ecumenical.

And above all, now as then, I appeal to God. Men have been impotent to secure the triumph of truth and righteousness. Lo, God arises to take in hand His own cause, and bring forth judgment! The Council, which should have been a work of light and peace, has but

[1] "For my own part, I say, without the slightest hesitation, that whosoever calls himself, or desires to be called, by the title of *universal bishop*, is, in his pride, the precursor of Antichrist, because he pretends thus to put himself above the rest."—Lib. vii. ep. 33, edit. Benedict.

made the darkness deeper, and let loose discord in the religious world. In the social world it is answered back by war, like an awful echo. War is a scourge of God ; but while it brings the chastisement, it will, I confidently trust, prepare the remedy. While it sweeps away the ancient structure, it will clear the ground on which the divine Bridegroom of the Church shall build the new Jerusalem!

To SIGNOR GIUSEPPE MASSARI, *Member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies.*

PARIS, *July* 18, 1870.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

This is the day on which they are completing, at the Vatican, the great folly, and I ought to say, only that they know not what they are doing—the great crime. At the hour of my writing, the party which so dominates at Rome that it imagines itself to *be* Rome, has doubtless achieved that triumph which Father Lacordaire called in advance a supreme insult to Jesus Christ, and which I may stigmatize as also a supreme insult to the conscience of mankind.

Is there not, then, to be awakened any energetic protest, any effective resistance, either among the bishops and clergy, or in the ranks of those of the laity who care for the safety of their religion and of their country?

Is it left for us, in these strange and evil days, to witness the collapse, I do not say of the Catholic Church, for that is immortal, but of the form which the Catholic Church has borne in our times?

I do not know; but despite the multitude of frightful miscalculations, and sinister forebodings, I cherish in my own heart an unconquerable hope. If men have found no way of bearing testimony to truth and righteousness, lo! God will arise to take in hand His cause and ours. Unforeseen events are arising—political events of immense import, the indirect results of which will be felt in the sphere of religion. Supremely to be regretted in itself, war is coming at this juncture, in the designs of Providence, that Europe may be relieved, even with violence, from the false position in which it has been placed—from the unhealthy state from which it had no power of self-recovery. Out of terrible but salutary convulsions is to come forth, as I confidently believe, a new adjustment of the balance between power and liberty. The era of great reforms is about to dawn. The temporal power of the Popes, that generous illusion of the Liberal Catholics of France, that blind passion of the Ultramontane Catholics of every land, that secret cause—no! that manifest, palpable, acknowledged cause—of all these recent transactions at Rome,—the temporal power will be destroyed or profoundly transformed.

The important point is not that the flag of Italy should float over the Capitol; but that the spirit of Italy should penetrate into the Vatican. To Italy the glorious mission seems to be more especially reserved of reconciling the papacy with modern society. As to the far more difficult and necessary task of reconciling the Roman Curia with the Gospel, God will take care of that. His Spirit has not abandoned the successors of the Galilean fisherman; among them, and around about them, He has not ceased to raise up faithful prophets. What may we not expect, when that Spirit shall have burst asunder the bonds in which man has but too often confined it?

Pardon me this overflow of feeling. You asked me for some word of light and strength. I have given you the same answer which I give myself in those hours of anguish which we have alike to endure. I never have had so much to suffer, but, I repeat it, I have never had so much to hope.[1]

[1] Some months after it was written, this letter was read almost entire, in the Italian Parliament, by Signor Massari himself, who considered it, "on account of its date, as a sort of prophecy" (Speech on the Bill for the Pontifical Guarantees). In asking, in his own name and in that of my illustrious friend the Duke of Sermoneta, for permission to make my letter public, Signor Massari gave me no hint of the undeserved honour which he was reserving for it.

To MONSEIGNEUR DE MÉRODE, *at the Vatican.*

ROME, *April* 26, 1871.

MONSEIGNEUR,

The remembrance of the extreme kindness which you have manifested towards me under other circumstances, makes me hope that you will be willing to render a service which is of very great importance to me.

I wish to have a private audience with the Holy Father, in order that I may open my heart entirely to him. My soul has suffered deeply, and it belongs to the flock of which the care has been confided to the Pope by the Supreme Master; by both these rights I am entitled to a kindly reception by him.

The line of action that I have believed it my duty to follow in the crisis through which the Church is passing has doubtless afflicted the Holy Father; but it cannot take away all his interest for one whom he has heretofore honoured by the testimonials of his kindness, and who has not ceased to regard himself as one of his children.

I pray you, Monseigneur, to excuse the liberty I take, and permit me—in awaiting your reply—to renew the assurances of my most respectful and distinguished consideration.

[The reply of Monseigneur de Mérode having been in the negative, I wrote him these few lines.]

Rome, *April* 30, 1871.

Of old, the good Shepherd ran after the straying sheep, and brought it back tenderly on his shoulders. Now, the straying sheep (since you think me such) seeks the Shepherd, and you drive it away.

What a distance between the Gospel and the Vatican!

To Professor Döllinger, *Munich.*

Rome, *April*, 1871.

Dear and Illustrious Friend,

Your most masterly letter to the Archbishop of Munich has produced a great impression at Rome, and those who pretend to be very little affected by it are the very persons who best understand its importance. But the passion which possesses them is so violent, the declivity down which they are tending is so irresistible, that this great testimony of Christian learning and conscience will not stop them. We have the proof of this already in your excommunication, which was resolved on here before it was pronounced at Munich. The party which at this moment controls both the episcopate and the papacy has not shrunk from a step calculated to revolt all honourable minds: by this stigma, as impotent as it is iniquitous, that

party has shown its gratitude towards the old champion of the Catholic Faith for fifty years of toil and conflict against Protestantism, constrained, in spite of itself, to admiration and respect of its antagonist. But that party has failed in its aim, and only completed your glory in attempting to obscure it. To suffer for the Church, at the hands of the Church, while still remaining in the Church, is the most cruel of martyrdoms, but it is also the most splendid and the most effectual!

As you admirably expressed it in one of your recent letters to me, "the fact which most significantly indicates the present condition of the Church is this, that a man gets himself excommunicated as a heretic for preserving the deposit of the Faith and continuing to believe and teach what he has believed and taught his whole life long." This is the point to which we have been brought by the manœuvres of this party—this *sect*, if I may boldly say what I think of them—whose audacity, long indulged and ever growing, has reached the point of trying to establish a new Catholicism. I hear talk of the dangers of a schism in the nearer or remoter future. The schism is in the present. It exists now under forms and in proportions hitherto unknown; and, what is most appalling, it has its roots in the very institution which ought to be the bond of unity.

Therefore it is that the time for talking seems to me

to have passed, and the time of action to have come. You might make whole libraries out of the books that have been written against the exorbitant pretensions of the Roman Curia, and yet these pretensions have never ceased to grow. Against a system like this, the demonstrations of learning and the protests of conscience are alike in vain. The men who represent it do not understand the language of truth and righteousness,—or rather, by a blindness which is something more than human, they conceive that they have rights both over morality and over history, and undertake to reconstruct both these in the likeness of their own infallibility. Their eyes will never be opened until they come to find themselves in collision with events that are stronger than they are. This, if I mistake not, is the terrible punishment that God has in reserve for them; and this is at the same time the unlooked-for salvation which He is preparing for His Church. "It is time," as the apostle Peter says, "for judgment to begin at the house of God."

Be of good cheer, then, great and noble soul! May God bless you for having "willingly offered yourself" to peril for the house of Israel. The mighty have ceased from amongst us, and have fallen asleep,—*cessaverunt fortes in Israël et quieverunt;* but Jehovah has raised you up in your old age for new conflicts and new victories!

[*Extract from the Funeral Oration upon* MONSEIGNEUR DARBOY, *Archbishop of Paris, pronounced in the Church of Notre Dame, July* 18, 1871, *by the Rev.* FATHER ADOLPHE PERRAUD, *of the Oratory.*

"Archbishop Darboy resolved to re-establish the Advent Conferences, which had been long suspended.

"With what eagerness his eloquent appeal of 1864 was listened to, what multitudes thronged again into this basilica—themselves a striking testimony in favour of religion; with what gratitude to God we hailed the dawn of an apostolate which gave promise of the richest harvests; none of us, gentlemen, has forgotten. Alas! for the sudden and terrible storm that dashed these hopes! Why is it that we can no longer recall these memories, except with consternation?

"But while our hearts are bleeding, charity forbids us to despair. O brother! behold the bloody breach which persecution has made in our ranks. Come back and take thy place! Come back to fight with us under the flag of Jesus Christ and of the unity of the Holy Church! And if my voice is too weak to reach thee, hear, I adjure thee, the blood of this murdered pontiff. He it is that is crying to thee, with more authority now than ever before, as of old, David cried to his erring child: My son! my son! my son! *fili mi* (2 Samuel, xviii. 33)."

To the Reverend ADOLPHE PERRAUD, *of the Oratory, Professor at the Sorbonne.*

REVEREND FATHER, PARIS, *August* 20, 1871.

I have just read the eloquent pages of the Funeral Oration upon Archbishop Darboy, pronounced

by you in the Church of Notre Dame; but it is not without painful surprise that I come upon the passage in which you have thought it your duty to speak of me. The sentiment which inspires you affects me more than I can venture to express to you. Unfortunately, the idea of it is erroneous, and implies, without any such intention on your part, a reproach which I cannot accept.

No, Reverend Father, I have never been, for the Archbishop of Paris, what Absalom, to whom you compare me, was toward the King of Israel,—an ungrateful and rebellious son. Neither has the Archbishop ever uttered to me anything resembling the complaints and reproaches which you ascribe to him. It is easy to put words into the mouth of the dead. For my part, I shall respect the silence of that tomb so recently and sadly closed, and shall not counteract the imaginary words which you evoke from it with real words and real letters. Doubtless Monseigneur Darboy had never in any degree approved the attitude in which I have been standing for now nearly two years; but he knew that it was imposed upon me by my conscience, and in this point of view I do not hesitate to say that he has always respected it. If the letters which I have from him are some day published, they will show how far this great bishop was removed from the shallow and shameful confusion into which people fall now-a-days,

between the military orders addressed to the external, I had almost said the mechanical, obedience of the soldier, and the free and thoughtful adhesion which the Church demands of the intelligent Catholic for its authentic decrees.

As for yourself, Reverend Father, you deal very hardly with me. You have thought good to refer to that career in Notre Dame which I renounced only at the cost of such bitter suffering; and you never dream that in view of the oppression which bore down heavier and heavier every day upon my preaching, my only choice was between blind submission and the shrewd veiling of my convictions—two things of which I was equally incapable. You point me to the bloody breach which persecution has made in the ranks of the clergy, and exhort me to come back and resume my place. You forget that I have never deserted it. There is other blood than that of the veins, "the blood of the soul," that St. Augustine speaks of, *sanguis quidam animæ.* This it is which I am shedding, drop by drop, in silence, through fidelity to that Catholic priesthood which you accuse me of despising, and under the strokes of this persecution from within, not less cruel, and far more fatal to the Church than that which comes from without. I *am* fighting, whatever you may say of it, under the flag of Jesus Christ, against the errors by which His Gospel is

dishonoured. I *am* striving for the unity of His Holy Church against the fanaticism which seeks to reduce it to a party in politics and a sect in religion!

The isolation in which I find myself in the midst of my former friends proves nothing against me; but it sadly justifies the remark of another of our illustrious departed, whom we have both of us admired and loved, and whose memory you, more favoured than myself, have eloquently and bravely vindicated. "The self-styled Liberal Catholics of France," wrote the Count de Montalembert to me a few weeks before his death,—"the self-styled Liberal Catholics of France are, in my eyes, as well as in yours, prevaricators."

That prevarication is now complete, and unhappily is to be imputed to something more than a small group of French Catholics. At the very moment of writing these lines, I learn by the *Semaine Religieuse*, of Paris, that the Chapter of the metropolitan Church has thought fit to write to the Pope, over the very coffin of its Archbishop, not simply to make its submission to the Vatican Council, but to extol as "a special blessing of Providence and an opportune measure befitting the wants of the time," the proclamation of the dogma which that archbishop had so energetically resisted. In return for these absolutely new sentiments, the authors of the pontifical brief reproduced by the *Semaine Religieuse* promise on the Pope's part, to the

Church of Paris, "a tenderer love, and a greater kindness;" they exhort it to "wipe away every trace of mourning and defilement" (the Latin word, chosen doubtless with design, is equally susceptible of the two senses: *Omni squalore absterso*), and, "under a new pastor," to enter upon days of happiness and glory. To such a pass the Church of Paris is reduced! And I may well add—to such a pass is the whole Church of France reduced! The old Church of St. Bernard, of Gerson, and of Bossuet, is constrained to abjure, in an hour of darkness and distraction, the traditions which for so many centuries had placed it at the head of Christendom; and it must needs be for the Germans, victorious in this field by the courage of the Catholic faith and the superiority of religious learning, to enter into possession of our most sacred birthright.

These are too many griefs and humiliations for a single year. You will pardon me, Reverend Father, for saying in my turn that I am "appalled." Leave aside, I beg you, my poor person, which is nothing in this great debate; and let us open our eyes to the disasters of our unhappy country, invaded and ruined by the Ultramontanes, as it has been by the Prussians; subjugated ecclesiastically by the Court of Rome, as it had been humbled politically by the Court of Berlin! Ah! doubtless our maladies are extreme, but if we will but observe them, they are not yet incurable. For

Christians and for Frenchmen, all may be saved when all is lost!

Accept, Reverend Father, the assurance of my sorrowful regret.

To FATHER GRATRY, *after his submission.*

[I think it necessary, that my own letter may be better understood, to insert here the letter of Father Gratry to Monseigneur Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, with the reply of the latter.]

MONTREUX, CANTON DE VAUD (SWITZERLAND),
November 25, 1871.

MONSEIGNEUR,

If I were not very ill and unable to write a letter, I should already have written to you many days since, to signify my respects and congratulations on your accession.

For the present, Monseigneur, I wish at least to say to you simply, what seems to me quite unnecessary to have said, to wit, that I accept, with all my brethren in the priesthood, the decrees of the Vatican Council. Whatever, previously to the decision, I may have written contrary to the decrees, I efface.

Deign, Monseigneur, to send me your blessing.

A. GRATRY,
Priest of the Diocese of Paris.

ARCHIEPISCOPAL RESIDENCE, PARIS,
December 8, 1871.

MY DEAR ABBÉ,

The brief but significant letter which you have addressed to me from your bed of suffering is the source

of great edification and comfort to me. I know you so well that I have never doubted your entire docility towards the decisions of the Church. This submission is the glory and true greatness of the priest and the bishop. It is also the sole security of the conscience.

You have written much for the defence of the truth. But you render to the Church a greater service in "effacing" the last pages traced by your hand than when with the same hand you were writing those most useful and eloquent books which have strengthened the faith of so many souls.

By such examples of nobleness and generosity we put our conduct in accord with our convictions, and prove to the world that we are sincere in maintaining that the light of faith is superior to that of our weak and vacillating reason.

My ardent hopes go forth for the recovery of your health, so that you may continue to defend the cause of religion with the ability for which you are distinguished, and the new authority which you acquire through the honourable act of submission just accomplished.

With all my heart I bless you, my dear Abbé, and renew to you the expression of my most affectionate regard.

✠ J. HIPPOLYTE,
Archbishop of Paris.

MUNICH, *December* 23, 1871.

MY VERY DEAR FATHER,

Before learning of it by public report, I had been apprised by yourself of your adhesion to the Vatican Council. *Non privatâ audaciâ sed publicâ auctoritate procedendum est* (we must act, not by personal auda-

city, but by public authority); so you wrote me, in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas. You sent me at the same time an indirect exhortation to follow your example, and added these affectionate words, for which I thank you: "I shall never cease to pray for you and love you."

Be assured, my Father, it would be no trial to me to submit outwardly, if I were able inwardly to believe; nor to acknowledge my error before the world, if I could acknowledge it to my own conscience. I have never been a believer in my own personal infallibility, and I have not tried to persuade others of it. I do not even understand how it can be so difficult, as vulgar minds say it is, to acknowledge that one has been honestly mistaken. I am convinced that by so doing a sincere and earnest man always rises in the esteem of the only public whose opinion need be considered.

And yet suffer me to say, that, after having written such telling pages as those of your late letters, one is hardly free to say blandly "I efface them." To do this one would need the power of effacing the luminous and painful traces which they have left in the souls of men. What! it is but a few months, my Father, since you rose up like a prophet in the confusion of Israel, and assured us that you "had commands laid on you of God, and that to fulfil them you were ready to suffer whatever might be needful!" You wrote that

demonstration, not less logical than eloquent, which it has been found easy to insult, but not easy to answer, and after proving by facts that the question of infallibility was a "gangrened" question—it is your own expression—you lifted up, in your holy indignation, that cry which has not yet ceased to ring: "*Does God need your falsehoods?*" *Numquid Deus indiget mendacio vestro?*

And yet now, in face of so many consciences that you have disturbed and left in suspense, you content yourself with writing to your bishop in an easy, simple way, such as at once surprises and saddens:—"I wish, Monseigneur, simply to say what seems to me quite unnecessary to have said, to wit, that I accept, with all my brethren of the priesthood, the decrees of the Vatican Council. Whatever, previously to the decision, I may have written contrary to the decrees, *I efface.*"

And is it thus that henceforth the interests of the truth and of human souls are to be treated in the Church of Jesus Christ?

When St. Augustine wrote that noble book of *Retractations* which is so often cited without any comprehension of the nature and scope of it, he took pains to settle the points in which he believed himself to have erred, and to exhibit the reasons which led him to this belief. It is just this which gives so much of sincerity, dignity, and usefulness to those admirable

confessions of his views. It is this which makes his very errors serviceable to the triumph and confirmation of the truth. Imitate this noble soul, my Father, and in refuting yourself you will help to enlighten and tranquillize us.

If you have ceased to see in the Vatican Council an assembly without liberty, and therefore without authority, say so plainly. But do not rest satisfied with saying so; show us the proofs by which your opinions have been decided, and indicate to us the signs by which henceforth we are to be able to distinguish a pseudo Council from a legitimate and Ecumenical Council.

If you admit the two pretended dogmas of the personal and separate infallibility of the Pope, "of himself, not by the consent of the Church," *ex sese, non autem ex consensu ecclesiæ*, and of his universal episcopal jurisdiction, do not try to give them an interpretation contrary to the natural, evident sense of the decrees—the only sense which the authority of Rome accepts or imposes—but show us how this sense accords with the facts of history which you have so learnedly established and discussed.

Then, dear Father, and not till then, will you have "put your conduct in accord with your convictions," as the Archbishop of Paris writes to you, and will have "acquired new authority for defending the cause of

religion," now so unhappily compromised. For my own part, my chief fear for religion is not the undisguised and honest scepticism of the foes of revelation; it is the unconscious scepticism of those who set false authority and false unity above the truth. The former consolidates the sacred edifice by the very attacks which it makes upon it from without; the second mines it silently from within, until the two foundation-stones are shaken on which the whole structure rests—sincerity of faith and integrity of conscience!

I beg you, my dear Father, to accept the assurance of my sentiments of deep respect and sorrow, and to suffer me, in my turn, to say that I shall never cease to pray for you and love you.

The Submission of Father Gratry.

Rome, *February* 25, 1872.

Father Gratry was for me not only what he is for all — one of the noblest spirits of this age; he was one of my most dearly cherished friends; and, nevertheless, I found myself under the necessity of giving him pain. It has not been permitted me to kneel by his grave, but I must shed a tear to his memory, and God knows how full it is at once of bitterness and sweetness.

It is for others to speak of the eminent place held by Father Gratry in the world of letters; I bethink myself now only of the place which he held in the world of souls. Admirable as a writer, thoroughly original as a philosopher, he was, above all these, an eminent believer. The excellences as well as the faults of his style of writing and thinking had their origin in this character of his soul. His prose was an almost continual song, which rose sometimes to so high a strain, that we seemed to hear in it something of the sound of harpers harping with their harps—something of the burden of the prophets and the ardour of the saints. His reasoning led him swiftly to affirmation, and, better yet, to contemplation. More than once he has acknowledged it himself. "I know a great geometer," said he, "one of the most illustrious in the world, who laughs at round-about processes of algebra and endless chains of equations. 'If you will but gaze,' he tells me, 'with the naked reason, and the collected understanding into the depth of facts and data, you will come more rapidly and profoundly to discoveries than by all these machines and all their operations.' It is in this way that my own mind is now accustomed to work, *in every branch of learning and on all questions*."[1] And he had the same feeling with regard to words as with regard to ideas. "Words

[1] "De la connaissance de l'âme. La mort." P. 442.

grow transparent to me; I see through them all the way down to things—sometimes all the way up to God."[1] There was in him something of a woman's nature, in depth and tenderness of feeling, and something of an angel's in directness of intuition, and in a sort of ecstasy of reasoning which had grown to be the habit of his mind. Father Gratry was preeminently a mystic, taking the word in its high and noble acceptation; no greater, I am bold to say, has the Christian Church produced in our century.

At this point of view, which constitutes the unity of his life, his work seems to me to concentrate about three points, answering precisely to the three great Christian virtues; faith in the living God and the immortal soul; unconquerable hope in the progress of the world, especially its moral and religious progress; and finally that charity as well of the intellect as of the heart, with which he embraced in their full extent humanity, notwithstanding its errors; and the Church, notwithstanding its divisions.

Certain it is that in his magnificent affirmations of God, the soul, the life to come, Father Gratry touched the very heart of the religious question of our times. For it must be owned that we incline rather by far to the side of atheism, or at least of scepticism, than to that of natural religion. It is true

[1] "De la connaissance de l'âme. La mort." P. 442.

that in their conflict with the radical, but honest and scientific negations of the human mind, put forward by such men as Vacherot and Littré, Catholic apologists have not always conceded to their antagonists the calm attention and the relative justice to which they were entitled. But while yielding to the prevailing current, the author of the *Sophistique Contemporaine*, constrained men to forget his fault by the sincerity and enthusiasm of his indignation.

His hope was as staunch as his faith. In a time when this virtue is not less difficult than necessary, our friend preached it in his books, and practised it in his life with a heroism which made people talk of him as a Utopian and a visionary. It may be said of him as of the patriarch, that "against hope he believed in hope." The only confession which the trials of these latter years have been able to extort from him has been this, which I take from one of his latest letters: "My hopes are deferred for two or three centuries, but they still subsist." I remember the childlike and sublime consolation which he brought us one evening, during the Council, at the table of a venerable priest, whose memory I love to link with his, and who, youthful still in mind and heart under his white hairs, shared to the very end our convictions and our indignations—I mean the abbé Martin de Noirlieu, curé of Saint-Louis d'Antin. The con-

solation which he brought was a recent discovery of science on the duration of the habitability of planets, according to which our race, still so undeveloped, is only at the first stage of its existence and progress. That was Father Gratry, to the life!

"The greatest of these is charity," says Saint Paul. The charity of Father Gratry did not suffer him to shut himself up within the visible limits of the Church in which he was born, and to which he would fain have drawn all men. It found the place too strait for itself, and cried with the prophet, "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and give me room that I may dwell;" and ascending from the body of the Church to its soul—less obvious to men's knowledge, but not less real, it assembled therein all the dispersed of Israel in that great unity which exists already before God, in spite of the separations and anathemas of men. Our friend was ever a peace-maker. He sought for that which unites, in preference to that which divides. He strove to dissipate misunderstandings—to efface, or at least to mitigate the secondary differences which still separate the children of God, and which others, alas! labour to increase and multiply. He was one of the most active servants, one of the mightiest prophets, of that Church of the Future which our children or our children's children are surely to behold. "With a great soul he beheld the last things, and comforted

them that mourned in Zion."[1] Therefore he is lamented as he was beloved, not only by the members of his own communion, but by many true Christians who called him their father, in the Oriental and the Protestant Churches. I myself have just been witness of some of those tears, "not metaphorical, but real, the abundance of which would astonish those who know nothing of the friendships formed and maintained by communion in divine things."[2]

I will add nothing to what I have already said of his adhesion to the decrees of the Vatican. I have heard the announcement of a paper, soon to be published, in which he has defined the reasons and limits of this submission. The letter which I wrote to him was unhappily only too true, and yet the burden of it weighs on me at this hour like a remorse. I certainly should not have written it to him if, at this distance, I could have known the gravity of his illness. But it is nothing surprising that a nature so sensitive and nervous as his should have given way, on a bed of anguish, before a struggle which, as I have had some reason to know, has crushed younger and more vigorous men than he.

However this may be, he had none of that im-

[1] Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 27.

[2] Address at the grave of Father Gratry by M. Désiré Nisard, Director of the French Academy.

petuous, not to say bitter zeal, manifested to their late friends by some of the new converts to infallibility. To Dr. Döllinger, who had not written to him since his retractation, he addressed of his own accord the following lines, which it seems right to insert here :—

MONTREUX (SWITZERLAND), *January* 9, 1872.

DEAR WORTHY AND HONOURED FRIEND,

I know profoundly what I am doing and I worship the truth alone.

I beg you to be absolutely convinced of that. I would prove it in the most telling manner if I were able to write. But this note almost exhausts my strength for the whole day. Tell this to Father Hyacinthe. I repeat it proudly: *servant and worshipper of the truth alone*—that is what I have been from my childhood to this day.

I send you my cordial salutations.

A. GRATRY.

Let me cite also, and above all, the admirable answer made to a common friend who, like me, had reproached him—but with a woman's tact and feeling—with his submission to the error which he had combatted.

MONTREUX, *January* 20, 1872.

O Friend and Sister, what joy your letter gives me! Thank God I have found you once more. I feared lest I should find you severe and unrelenting. This is the reason why, for a month past, I have refrained from writing to you. God be praised that I find you as ever, child of heaven!

I had not heard of your illness. Alas! alas! as for myself there is a possibility of my recovery. But I do not count much upon it. I suffer cruelly.

But I trust that you will live.

Live, and know this well, and hold it fast. No one knows how deeply true it is. I am from my childhood upwards, the scrupulous worshipper of the truth alone, and this I shall be to my dying day. Know this well, and take comfort.

I profoundly know what I am doing, and I adore my holy bride, the Truth.

I have not been fatally wounded through my moral nature.[1] In that, through peace, serenity, and learning, I have an enormous power of resistance. The fall of France, without and within, has indeed caused me immense pain. But the things of the Church are what I have expected from my youth; and I distinguish

[1] I think that on this point Father Gratry misjudged himself. His friends recall what he said in the days of his brave letters: "They will condemn me, and it will kill me."

between what must be maintained, and what God will utterly destroy.[1]

I bless you with all my heart. We shall meet again, at least in heaven.

A. GRATRY.

By an unaccountable delay of the mail, these lines did not reach Rome until a day or two after the death of the writer. Coming to me through the medium of one whom he had certainly loved among the dearest of his earthly friends, and whose acquaintance he owed to me, I accepted them as bringing an implied pardon, full of delicacy and gentleness, which he who is now resting in the truth, confirms to me from on high.

To the Reverend LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON, *Pastor of a Congregational Church, Brooklyn, New York.*[2]

REVEREND SIR,

I am no less surprised than gratified at the honour which you are disposed to do to the few discourses which I have published in Europe. Some of these are the work of my own pen, but not many of

[1] Father Gratry has repeatedly declared to me that on the day of his ordination to the priesthood he had a sort of prophetic intuition of a speedy but transitory triumph of Pharisaism in the Catholic Church.

[2] This letter is prefixed to a translation of my discourses published during my visit to the United States.

them, and these are connected with circumstances of time and place which, I fear, will have little interest for American readers. Others are of higher importance in their object, constituting, as they do, parts of the course of Conferences instituted by the Archbishop of Paris, but these exist only in detached scraps, set down by a hasty stenography, and joined together by an imperfect analysis.

I should have been glad, I own, to bring to America something less unworthy of the sympathies which I shall always count among the highest honours and the purest joys of my life.

Such as they are, however, I deliver these sketches to the indulgence of your readers. Frenchman and Catholic as I am, I present them by your hands to the great American Republic, of which you are a citizen—to the numerous and flourishing Protestant Churches among which you are a minister.

I am proud of my France. But I consider it one of her most solid glories to have contributed to the independence of this noble country, which it has never ceased to love, and which it will learn some day to imitate—this people for whom liberty is something else than a fruitless theory or a bloody practice ; with whom the cause of labour is never confounded with that of revolution, and never separated from that of religion, and which, rearing under all forms and de-

nominations, its houses of prayer amid its warehouses and banks, crowns its noisy and productive week with the sweetness and majesty of its Sabbath. "And on the seventh day he ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made."[1]

I remain faithful to my Church, and if I have protested against the excesses which dishonour and seek to ruin it, you may measure by my cry of grief the intensity of my love. When the Master and Exemplar of us all armed himself with the scourge against the profaners of the temple, his disciples remembered that it was written "the zeal of thy house hath eaten me up." I remain faithful to my Church; but I am none the less touched at the interest which is taken in various Churches in what I may say or do in the Catholic Church. I have never deemed that the Christian communions separate from Rome are disinherited of the Holy Ghost, and without a part in the immense work of the preparation of the kingdom of God. In my relations with some of the most pious and learned of their members, I have experienced in those depths of the soul where illusion is impossible, the unspeakable blessing of the communion of saints—whatever outwardly divides, in space and time, vanishing like a dream before that which inwardly unites,

[1] Genesis ii. 2.

the grace of the same God, the blood of the same Christ, the hopes of the same Eternity!

Whatever our prejudices, our alienations, or our indignations, under the eye of God, which seeth what we cannot see, under his hand, which leadeth whither we would not go, we are all labouring in common for the upbuilding of that Church of the Future which is to be the Church of the Past in its original purity and beauty, but adding to these the depth of its analyses, the breath of its syntheses, the experience of its toils, its struggles and its sufferings, through all the centuries.

In the sad days of schism and captivity, the word of the Lord came to the prophet Ezekiel: "Son of man," said he, "take thee one stick and write upon it, For Judah and for the children of Israel his companions. Then take another stick and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim and for all the house of Israel his companions; and join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thine hand."[1] To me also, the least of Christians, in those visions of the soul which are never refused to longing hearts, the Lord has spoken. He has placed in my hands these rent and sundered boughs, Rome and the children of Israel who follow her, the Churches of the Reformation and the people who are with

[1] Ezekiel xxxvii. 16, 17.

them. I have pressed them to my heart, and under the outpouring of my tears and prayers, I have brought them together that they might be no more twain but one. But men have laughed at my endeavour, seemingly so foolish, and have asked, as of the ancient seer, "Wilt thou not show us what thou meanest by these things?"[1] Yet on that tree which seemed so mutilated and so barren, already I behold the brilliant blossom and the savoury fruit!

"One God, one faith, one baptism!"

"There shall be one flock, and one Shepherd!"

HIGHLAND FALLS, *All Souls' Day.*
November 2, 1869.

To HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS IX.

LONDON, *August* 25, 1872.

MOST HOLY FATHER,

When I left the Convent of Barefooted Carmelites of Paris, nearly three years ago, I had no intention of withdrawing from the authority with which you are invested, as Bishop of Rome and Primate of the Universal Church. On the contrary, I have always openly declared that I recognized the Primacy as necessary and legitimate, and if I have opposed the errors and abuses that are presented in its name, I have done so, I trust, in the same spirit which animated St. Paul, when, with-

[1] Ezekiel xxxvii. 18.

out separating himself from St. Peter, he "withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed."

And now, Most Holy Father, at the moment when I am about to take a step that may seem to be in violation of the vows of the priest and monk, but which the voice of God, long and humbly listened to in my conscience, commands or at least counsels me to take, I come to express to your Holiness my regret in not being able to act, under such grave circumstances, with your full authorization, and paternal benediction. No cost would have seemed too dear by which to obtain—I will not say the peace, for that I have already—but the joy of my soul; and by which to avert from a greater number of my brethren in the faith an offence for which I can never cease to feel inconsolable regret.

Anathematized for the marriage which I am about to contract, as I was for my protest against the *coup d'état* of the Vatican, I shall remain none the less faithful to a Church whose light has always shone out again after the nights which have darkened but never extinguished it. I shall continue to be what I am by virtue of a power higher than that of man:—a Christian, by virtue of the water and the Spirit of my baptism; a Catholic by the faith of my fathers; and by the unction and the indelible character of my ordination, a priest. Absolved, or rather blest, by God himself in the sanctuary of my own conscience for what men will call my crime, I shall

await with confidence from the successors to your Holiness in the indefectible see of the primacy, the retraction, or at least the explanation of the dogmas which in their present form are contrary to truth and to tradition, and the abolition or transformation of the laws which set the discipline of the Latin Church into antagonism with the moral nature of mankind, and at the same time with the liberty of the Gospel.

I pray you, Most Holy Father, to pardon the severe sincerity with which I have ventured to address you, and to deign notwithstanding to accept the assurance of the deepest respect and affection in which I remain Your Holiness' most unworthy, but very faithful servant and son,

HYACINTHE LOYSON.

II.

FRAGMENTS.

II.—FRAGMENTS.

My Position and my Conscience.

Rome, *June* 17, 1871.

I have no answer to make to the insults and calumnies that have been heaped upon me for nearly two years. But I owe an explanation to upright and devout souls who are afflicted at seeing me persevere in what they have been told is my double apostasy:—my apostasy from the Carmelite order, to which I am bound by my monastic vows, and my apostasy from the Catholic Church, to which I belong by the faith of my baptism.

There have been no such apostasies.

I.

To begin with, so far as concerns the monastic state, all canonists acknowledge that a monk does not become apostate by the mere fact of quitting for a time, or even for ever, the habit and residence of his order. It is enough for him, in order to do this legitimately, to

have obtained authority from his superiors; and it is well known on what easy terms the Roman Curia now-a-days grants these "secularizations" which reopen to the dweller in a cloister, weary of its regulations or of its loneliness, the entrance to a world which he had renounced. Still less is one guilty of apostasy for the fact that in a time of universal trouble and confusion, he retires from the cloister in order to escape being subjected, under the show of duty, to one of those oppressions which attack at once the purity of the faith and the integrity of the conscience, and inflict upon the ministry of the priest that which Saint Ambrose deemed the greatest of all dishonours: "Nothing," said the sainted bishop, "nothing is so dangerous before God for a priest, nothing so shameful before men, as not to speak out his convictions 'freely.'"

I mean to give some day, not for my personal justification, which is of small account, but in order to throw light on the crisis through which the Church is passing, and to help consciences that are suffering as my own has suffered, the story of the facts which brought about and followed upon my protest of September 20th, 1869. For the present I confine myself to the most essential points.

The two following letters, which it seems proper to give to the public, will define the real position which I have taken with reference to the Order of Barefooted Carmelites:—

To MONSEIGNEUR THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS.

PARIS—PASSY, *September* 20, 1869.

MONSEIGNEUR,

The state of actual oppression in which I am placed at this moment in my order, has led me to two very serious resolutions. I have deliberately pondered them before my own conscience and at the foot of the cross, and I come to communicate them to your grace, with regret at causing you pain, which I would gladly have spared you.

The first of these resolutions is not to preach the next course of Advent Conferences at Notre Dame. Since my speech can no longer be the sincere expression of my thought, and is led captive by the exigencies of a party, it has nothing to do but retire into silence as toward men, and to betake itself toward heaven, transformed to prayer.

My second determination is to retire until the Ecumenical Council, from the convents of my Order, which have become no less prejudicial to my health than to the repose of my mind. In the peculiar circumstances which are imposed upon me, I cannot have recourse to the Holy See to obtain justice, for it is under the pressure of men all-powerful at Rome that my own Order has abruptly changed its attitude toward me. The only door open to me is that through which I am about to pass.

And yet, Monseigneur, as my conduct—completely justified and even required as it is, in the eyes of my conscience, by a higher law—will appear to some to be contrary to the canons of the Church, I hasten to assure your grace that until my position has been restored to entire regularity, I shall abstain from wearing either the monastic or the ecclesiastical habit, and from fulfilling any function whatever of the ministry. I shall not willingly be an occasion of scandal to my brethren. I shall not, by any fault of mine, give pain to the heart of the bishop who for five years of difficult labour has been, without one moment of failure or vacillation, a father, and I might almost venture to say a friend.

I beg you to accept, Monseigneur, the expression of my painful regret, but also of my undying gratitude and my profound veneration.

BROTHER HYACINTHE,
Barefooted Carmelite.

To the Reverend FATHER DEFINITOR, *acting General of the Barefooted Carmelites, Rome.*

PARIS, *August* 4, 1870.

VERY REVEREND FATHER,

Last year, on the eve of the Vatican Council, in view of the extreme peril to which the Church was exposed, and of the fatal illusions prevailing as to the extent of the danger, and the practical means of pre-

venting it, I felt it my imperative duty to lift up my voice. I could not do this while remaining under the monastic discipline; more especially as the Reverend General of our Order had just inflicted a general censure on my preaching, and in order to prevent me "from meddling with questions on which Catholics are at variance" had ordered me, under the severe penalties of the *formal precept*, "to print no more letters nor discourses." In this state of things I did not hesitate to leave my convent at once. My intention in so doing was not to trample under foot my monastic vows, nor to break violently with the life of the cloister, but only to discharge an obligation which I deemed more pressing and more sacred. This is the reason why I have never considered myself as affected by the excommunication which falls on the head of the apostate monk.

I believe that I have now fulfilled this grave and painful duty. The Council, too, though not officially prorogued, is practically suspended, and war imposes silence on all religious discussions.

I come then to express to you, Very Reverend Father, my sincere willingness and ardent desire to resume the practice of the life of Carmel. You will find in me, I trust, a docile spirit in all that concerns the religious state. I only beg you not to demand of me, in another order of ideas, what my conscience would not suffer me to accord—I mean the retraction of my two letters of

September 20, 1869, and July 30, 1870, and the abandonment of convictions which are dearer to me than life, and on which a Council really ecumenical has not yet pronounced.

Painful as is the present state of the Church, I will not despair but that there may be found some possible reconciliation between the diverse obligations which weigh upon my conscience, and I venture to rely on your fatherly wisdom and kindness to help me to realize it.

BROTHER HYACINTHE,
Barefooted Carmelite.

This last letter has never been answered.

I trust that I am understood. The monastic ideal retains for me all its sublimity, but I am no longer under any illusion as to its practical realization. The experiment of the cloister, pursued, I make bold to say, with the utmost earnestness and zeal for more than ten years, enables me to lay my finger on the incurable malady of the monastic orders under their present form, and I am convinced that a change in the very conditions of their existence is the only thing that can recover them from this decline. Ideas like this began to dawn in me from the earliest years of my life as a Carmelite; but I never thought that of themselves they sufficed to release me from the sacred obligations which I had contracted. I would advise no person to enter the

convents, such as, for the most part, they now are. I am ready to shut myself up again in one of them, if they will but consent to respect that voice of my conscience, for the sake of which I have sacrificed the first audience in the world, the dearest friendships, and, I could almost say, the honour of my name and the repose of my life.

II.

As for my second apostasy, by which, as it is alleged, I have abandoned the Church, I am well aware that it is the decisive argument—I ought perhaps to add the malicious delight—of those who have never forgiven me for refusing to identify Catholicism with their sect. Let me repeat, it is not to them that I am speaking; but, to those on whom they impose, I would say, that two things only can really separate one from the Church—excommunication, justly incurred, and heresy, formally and obstinately professed.

According to Saint Thomas Aquinas, and the majority of theologians, an unjust excommunication is *ipso facto* invalid, and has no force either *in foro publico* or *in foro conscientiae*—before man or before God. Furthermore, I have never been personally excommunicated, either by the Pope or by a bishop. Only the superiors of my order have warned me by an official act that I had incurred the greater excommunication, pronounced *ipso*

facto against apostate monks. What I have just said of the motives of my leaving the convent at Paris is sufficient to show them their mistake. Since that time, I have never failed to find priests intelligent enough to absolve me in confession. This very year, at Easter, I received the communion at St. Peter's Church.

I am no more heretical than I am excommunicated. If I have spoken or written a single word against the pure and genuine doctrines of the Catholic Church, it has been done unwittingly and by inadvertence. I retract it humbly, fervently, with my whole soul. I am determined to persevere in that holy faith imbibed with my mother's milk, sealed upon my heart with my dying father's benediction—the faith which I have preached to the world, and which by God's grace I shall carry with me to the grave. Whatever the sympathies that flow out to me from the direction of the churches separated from the centre of unity, whatever the sentiments of esteem and the ties of affection which bind me to some of their most illustrious and pious representatives, I have always declared that I distinguished between Protestantism considered as such, and the Gospel truths or the Christian souls which it includes—just as I have always distinguished between Catholicism and the errors and abuses which are too often put forward in its name. In a letter which was written in America less than two months after my protest of September 20th, 1869, and

which was printed at the time in the newspapers, I said, "I continue faithful to my Church; and if I have lifted up my voice against the excesses which dishonour and seek to ruin it, you may measure the intensity of my love by the cry of my distress. When the Master and Exemplar of us all armed Himself with the scourge against the profaners of the Temple, His disciples remembered that it was written, 'the zeal of thy house hath eaten me up.'"

Amid the woes that have befallen my country, hindered, by the trying condition to which I am condemned, from rendering her any service, I have come to Rome to seek the only consolation which I can now appreciate—to Rome, which now more than ever I feel to be my second country, and in one sense my first—"the city of my soul." I have tried to see the Holy Father; for I would have him read my whole heart. I acknowledge his authority, notwithstanding his abuse of it; I respect his white hairs, his sorrows, and even his faults, for they have their origin in pious illusions.

But because I am resolved to abide faithful to the unchangeable faith of the Catholic Church, and the primitive faith of the Church of Rome, I cannot adhere to the new dogma of papal infallibility, in which I see the most dangerous of errors and the most incurable of schisms. I cannot recognize as truly free and legitimate

a Council of which history will say that "it began with an ambuscade, and ended with a *coup d'état!*"

And I conclude this declaration with the words which, in the first ages of the Church's liberty and purity, a bishop, Saint Polycrates of Ephesus, addressed to Pope Saint Victor, who threatened him with excommunication in order to compel him to celebrate Easter according to the Western usage: "I am not afraid of threats," answered the disciple of Polycarp and Saint John, "for there are greater than I who have said, 'It is good to obey God rather than men.'"

Men pass away, and their works with them; but the truth of the Lord abideth for ever!

DECLARATION *of* DR. DÖLLINGER *and his Adherents.*

In view of the administrative measures and the manifestoes of the German bishops in support of the Vatican decrees, the undersigned deem it necessary by the present declaration to define their position, and, so far as in them lies, to relieve the uneasiness from which men's consciences are suffering.

I. Faithful to the inviolable duty incumbent on every Catholic Christian, to hold fast by the old faith, and reject every new doctrine, even though it were preached by an angel from heaven—a duty not denied either by the Pope or by the bishops—we persist in rejecting the Vatican dogmas. Down to this time it has never been required that either in Church doctrine or in Catholic faith every Christian should recognize in the Pope a

master and absolute sovereign, to whom he is directly and immediately subject, and to whose envoys and delegates he owes unconditional obedience in everything touching religious faith, or relating to what is enjoined or forbidden in morals. In like manner, it is notorious, that down to the present day it has never been the teaching of the Church that the gift of infallibility is granted to a man—that is, to the Pope for the time being—in the definitions which he addresses to the whole Church, on points of faith, and on human rights and duties. On the contrary, these propositions, although greatly encouraged by Rome, and fostered by all the means at the disposal of a dominant power, have continued hitherto to be simple scholastic opinions, which the most renowned theologians have been free to oppose and reject without thereby subjecting themselves to censure. It is notorious (and if the German bishops do not know it, they ought to) that these doctrines owe their origin to forgery, and their diffusion to violence. These doctrines, as they have been proclaimed by the Pope in the Vatican decrees, strip the fellowship of believers of its essential rights, deny all value to its testimony, destroy the authority of tradition and the fundamental principle of the Catholic faith, according to which Christians are bound to the belief of nothing but what has been taught and believed always, everywhere and by all: *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.* When, now, in their recent pastoral, the German bishops declare that it is Peter who has spoken by the mouth of the Pope, proclaiming himself infallible, it becomes our duty to repudiate such a claim as blasphemy. Peter speaks clearly and intelligibly to us all, in his acts and words reported in the Holy Scriptures, and in his

Epistles, which are addressed to us as well as to the primitive Christians. These acts, words, and letters, are animated by a totally different spirit, and contain teachings far other than that which it is now attempted to impose upon us.

The attempt has been made, it is true, to soften these new doctrines, which in their crudity and their enormous sweep of application are an offence to all the feelings of a Christian ; and it is sought to persuade the people that they have always been believed, and that there is no snare hidden beneath them. In the recent pastoral, as in other circumstances, great pains have been taken to represent the infallibility spoken of in the new decrees as a prerogative belonging in common to the *magisterium* of the Church, composed of the Pope and the bishops. But this interpretation is in contradiction to the clear and literal sense of these decrees, according to which the Pope is exclusively and by himself alone infallible ; it is he that receives the aid of the Holy Spirit, and remains completely independent, in his decisions, of the judgment of the bishops, whose assent to every papal decision whatever is henceforth obligatory. If the German bishops maintain that the "plenitude of power" with which the Pope is invested according to the Vatican decrees, is not to be considered as unlimited power, extending to everything, because the exercise of it is restricted by the revealed doctrine and the divine constitution of the Church, they might just as reasonably hold that there is no such thing on earth as unlimited and despotic power, even among the Mohammedans, for the Sultan and the Shah of Persia themselves recognize that their power has limits in the *jus divinum* and the dogmas of the Koran. By the

new decrees, the pope is not only invested with the power of dominating the entire field of morals, but it is for him, by himself, and with infallible magisterial authority, to determine what belongs to this domain, what principles are of divine authority, as well as the interpretation and application which are to be given to them in particular cases. In the exercise of this authority the pope is not bound to have the consent of any person but himself, he is not accountable to any person on earth, and no one can venture to oppose him. Every man, prince or day-labourer, bishop or layman, is required to render submission without condition, and obedience without contradiction, to every one of his commands. If such a power is not unlimited and despotic, there never was, never will be, an unlimited and despotic power on the face of the earth.

II. We persist in our profound conviction that the Vatican decrees constitute a serious peril for the State and for society—that they are utterly incompatible with the laws and institutions of modern States—and that in accepting them we should be entering into a conflict that could never be settled with our political duties and oaths. It is in vain for the bishops to try, by affecting to ignore them, or by attempting to interpret them after their own fashion, to destroy the incontestable fact of the existence of pontifical bulls and decisions, which would subject all earthly powers to the will of the apostolic see, and which condemn in the most absolute manner the laws most indispensable to the organization of modern society. The bishops know very well that by virtue of the Vatican decrees, they have no right to restrict pontifical decisions, whether ancient or recent, by artificial interpretations, and that the contrary ex-

planation of a single Jesuit will outweigh that of a hundred bishops. In this very thing, the interpretations of the German bishops are contradicted by that of other prelates, and in particular of the Archbishop of Westminster, Dr. Manning, who gives to papal infallibility the widest imaginable extent. Consequently, notwithstanding the reproaches aimed at us by the bishops, we consider ourselves fully warranted in saying that an infallibility ascribed to the pope, and to him alone, without the concurrence of any other, must be called *personal*. The expression so applied is precisely accurate, and in accordance with the usage of language by which we are accustomed to describe as *personal*, the power which a monarch possesses and exercises independently of the other authorities of the State. It is right, then, to call an official prerogative *personal* when it is so closely and inseparably attached to a person that he can neither divest himself of it nor delegate it to others. If we compare (as the German bishops have failed to do) the condemnations of the *Syllabus*, which has now become a decree invested with the papal infallibility, the solemn condemnation inflicted by the pope on the Austrian constitution, the simultaneous publications of the Jesuits of Laach, Vienna and Rome, who are far better advised than the German bishops of the meaning of the Roman Curia; if, I say, we compare all these with the Vatican decrees, we must be wilfully blind not to see a well-contrived plan for the universal monarchy of the popes. Our governments, our laws, our political constitutions, everything which pertains to morals—the actions of each private individual—everything henceforth will have to be submitted to the Roman Curia, its organs and its delegates, whether

fixed or itinerant, whether bishops or Jesuits. Sole legislator in matters of faith, discipline, and morals, supreme judge, irresponsible sovereign, and executor of his own sentences, the pope, by virtue of the new doctrine, possesses such plenary power that the most ardent imagination cannot conceive a greater. The German bishops would do well to lay to heart the golden words pronounced at Munich by the Franciscan Occam, in a situation analogous to our own. "If," said he, "the bishop of Rome possessed such plenary power as the popes unjustifiably arrogate to themselves, and as many, through mistake or by way of flattery, concede to them, all men would be slaves—which is plainly contrary to the liberty of the Gospel law."

III. We appeal to the testimony which the German bishops themselves involuntarily render to the justice of our cause. If we openly and flatly reject the new doctrine which makes the pope universal bishop and absolute master of every Christian in the whole domain of morals—that is to say, in respect to everything which ought to be done or not done—the bishops, on their part, prove by the different and contradictory interpretations of their pastoral letters, that they perceive perfectly well the novelty of this doctrine and the repugnance which it excites, and give evidence that when we come down to its real sense they are ashamed of it themselves. No one of them has been able to bring himself to follow the example of Manning and the Jesuits, and give to the Vatican decrees their simple and natural sense. They forget that if upon matters of faith we were to apply to other decrees, efforts resembling those put forth in their pastorals to extenuate the meaning of these decrees, the solidity and unity of doctrine would

soon be shaken, and general insecurity and uncertainty would be produced throughout the whole domain of faith. In fact, what certainty and safety would be left in the decisions of the Church, old or new, if they were all to be subjected to the method used in the late pastorals for the interpretation of the Bull of Boniface VIII., and if we were to indulge ourselves in such direct contradictions with the literal sense and manifest intention of decisions, as has been used in the case of that one? We deplore such use of the teaching authority of bishops; we deplore more profoundly still, that these bishops have not been ashamed, in a pastoral addressed to the Catholic people, to answer the outcry of the conscience of their flocks by insults to reason and learning. In fact, when from these men who seem to know on higher duty than that of blind obedience, we look back towards their venerable predecessors in the Episcopate—the Cyprians, the Athanasius', the Augustines—we feel that we have better cause than Saint Bernard to utter that cry of pain: *Quis nobis dabit videre Ecclesiam sicut erat in diebus antiquis?*—"Who will let us see the Church as she was in the early days?"

IV. We reject the threats of the bishops as unjust, and their despotic measures as invalid. In other days, the maxim was held in great esteem throughout the Church, that if we can point out the time when a doctrine first begins to appear, that is a sure proof that it is false. Now this is precisely the case with the new doctrine of papal infallibility. We can fix precisely the date of its first appearance, the persons who conceived it and the interests it was to serve. In former times, when the pope and the bishops excluded from the communion of the Church the authors and abettors of an

anti-Catholic doctrine, they appealed mainly to its novelty and its opposition to the old traditional faith. And by this manifest and demonstrable fact, that their opinion had not been previously accepted as part of the divine revelation, it was possible to convince the excommunicated teachers of the justice of the Church's sentence. In our days, on the contrary, we find for the first time (history shows no other example of it in the course of eighteen centuries) that excommunication is thundered against men, not for maintaining and propagating a new doctrine, but for seeking to preserve the old faith as they received it from their parents and teachers in school and Church, and for not being willing to receive a different doctrine, nor to change their faith as they change their garments. It is the general teaching of the Fathers of the Church that an unjust excommunication hurts not the man against whom, but the man by whom it is pronounced, and that God changes rather into a source of grace the sufferings of those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. We know that such condemnations are as void of binding force as they are unjust, and that consequently they cannot deprive believers of their just right to the means of grace instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, nor take from priests the right to dispense them. We are resolved, then, not to be robbed of our rights by censures inflicted in the interest of false doctrines.

V. We live in the hope that the struggle which has broken out will be, under the leading of Providence, a means of effecting the reformation, so long desired, and now become inevitable, of the affairs of the Church, both in its constitution and in its life. As we look towards the future, we are cheered and comforted amid the bitter

trials of the present confusion. If now we find on all sides in the Church unbounded abuses, which, confirmed and made incurable by the triumph of the Vatican dogmas, might come at last to the point of extinguishing all Christian life; if we perceive with pain the tendency towards a centralization palsying to the mind, and towards a mechanical uniformity; if we consider the constantly increasing incapacity of the hierarchy, which knows no other policy but to oppose the immense intellectual movement of the ages with conventional phrases and impotent imprecations:—on the other hand, our courage revives at the recollection of better days, and we put our trust in the Divine Head of the Church. Looking both to the past and to the future, we have in view the vision of the regeneration of the Church restored to its true idea—that is, of a state of things in which every civilized people of the Catholic confession shall, without impairing its union with the Church universal, and yet without bondage to the yoke of an arbitrary domination, order and perfect its ecclesiastical constitution according to its particular character, and in harmony with its special mission in the work of civilization, through the concurrence and agreement of clergy and laity; and in which all Catholic Christendom shall be under the guidance of a primate and an episcopate, which, by means of learning, and by taking active part in the life of society, shall acquire the knowledge and capacity necessary to recover, and firmly to secure, for the Church the sole place that is worthy of her, and which is hers by right, at the head of universal civilization. By this way alone, and not by the decrees of the Vatican, we shall draw near the supreme end assigned to Christian development, the re-union of other Christian

Confessions now separated from us—a re-union desired and promised by the Founder of the Church, and longed for and prayed for with daily growing fervour by countless believers, both in Germany and elsewhere. May God grant it to us!

(Signed)

IGNATZ Von DÖLLINGER.
Professor Von SCHÜLTE, Prague.
Professor REINKENS, Breslau.
Professor KNOODT, Bonn.
Professor MICHELIS, Braunsberg.
Professor Dr. J. HÜBER, Munich.
Professor CORNELIUS.
Professor FRIEDRICH.
[And twenty-one others.]

MUNICH, *June*, 1871.

ADHESION.

I give to the Declaration signed at Munich, by Professor Döllinger and his friends, my most entire and explicit adhesion.

I have confidence that this great act of faith, learning and conscience, will be the starting-point of that movement of reformation which alone can save the Catholic Church, and which will save it.

HYACINTHE.

ROME, *July* 7, 1871.

LETTER *to a* FRIEND, *Prefixed to "An Appeal to the Catholic Bishops."*

To MONSIEUR ———.

LONDON, *January* 16, 1871.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

I am deeply touched by learning the steps you have taken on my behalf during your recent visit to Rome. You are not the first who have endeavoured to restore me—I do not say to my Church, for from that I have never separated myself—but to the Ministry, which for nearly twenty years I have exercised in her name, but which, in the new conditions that have been imposed upon me, I did not believe that I could honestly continue.

I desire to avoid henceforward, for my friends as for myself, the misunderstandings attending on such steps when they are not taken in the broad light of day. I wish, further, to contribute, as far as in me lies, to the restoration, in ecclesiastical matters, of that publicity which is the only worthy and the only efficacious policy. It is for this reason that I determine, after mature consideration, to publish the "Appeal to the Catholic Bishops," which I had written on the 25th of last December. In the midst of the trials of my afflicted country, which I have come to serve on

this friendly shore, more usefully than it was possible for me to do on my native soil, I should not have raised my voice on a personal question, if the question had not been one which concerned my conscience in the highest degree; and if it were not connected with interests which ought to take precedence of all others, even and above all in France,—the interests of Religion.

APPEAL *to the* BISHOPS *of* CATHOLIC CHRISTENDOM.

ROME, ABSENT IN BODY, PRESENT IN SPIRIT,
Christmas Day, 1870.

WHEN the war broke out, like the thunderbolt which burst over the Vatican in reply to the promulgation of the impious dogma, I hastened to utter a brief protest, and having accomplished this duty, I remained silent. I watched the disappearance, as of the chaff carried away before the whirlwind, of the two despotisms, sometimes allied, sometimes hostile, which have pressed so heavily on the Church and on the world, the empire of the Napoleons and the temporal power of the Popes. The partisans of infallibility have not understood the religious silence into which so many souls have withdrawn, and which more than all others they themselves ought to have observed; in pursuance of the audacious policy which has been at

once their triumph and their ruin, they indulge in noisy speculations on the reserve more or less prudent of some, on the adhesion more or less constrained of others. Such a misapprehension cannot be allowed to continue, and a heavy guilt would be incurred by neglecting to dispel an illusion which would end in establishing falsehood by prescriptive right.

The political catastrophe which, especially for Frenchmen, might seem at first sight a reason for silence, becomes, when truly understood, an urgent motive for speaking and for acting. The question, I do not hesitate to say, which ought, even at this moment, to take precedence of all others in France, is the question of religion. France cannot dispense with Christianity; and yet she cannot accept it under the oppressive and corrupted forms in which it has been clothed. This is the reason why, even more than the other Latin races, she is forced to remain without religion, and consequently without a constraining morality, between Ultramontanism and Infidelity, two enemies of which she takes not sufficient account, and which she ought to combat with an energy equal at least to that with which she combats those who have invaded her soil alone.

Let me, then, be permitted, in the presence of the misfortunes of my country and the misfortunes of the Church, to address myself to the Catholic Bishops

throughout the world—to those especially who see the situation as I see it myself, and who are, I well know, not a few. I am nothing that I should speak to them so freely. But was it not the bold saying of the illustrious Gerson, that in times of crisis, even the humblest peasant may convoke a General Council and save the universal Church? It is this right which I use; it is this duty which I discharge in conjuring the Bishops to put an end to the latent schism which divides us down to a depth all the more formidable by as much as it is less acknowledged.

Before all else, we require them to tell us whether the decrees of the recent Council are or are not binding on our faith. In an assembly in which the first conditions ought to be entire freedom of discussion, and the moral unanimity of the votes, it is well known that Bishops, considerable by their numbers, by the authority of their learning and their character, have complained loudly and repeatedly of restrictions of every kind imposed on their liberty, and have refused to take part in the final decision. Is it possible that on returning to their dioceses, as if awaking from a long dream, they have acquired a retrospective certainty of having actually enjoyed, during their sojourn at Rome, a moral independence of which at the time they were not conscious? The very supposition is an insult. There is no question here of a mystery above

human reason, but simply of a fact of personal experience; and to change opinion in such a case is not to submit reason to authority, but to sacrifice conscience itself.

If it be so, we remain free, after as before the Council, to reject the infallibility of the Pope as a doctrine unknown to ecclesiastical antiquity and resting only on apocryphal writings, concerning which criticism has pronounced its final judgment.

We remain free to declare openly and loyally that we decline to accept the recent Encyclical Letters, and the *Syllabus* which their most intelligent champions are constrained to interpret in opposition to their natural sense, and to the well-known intention of their author, and of which the result, if these documents were treated seriously, would be to establish a radical incompatibility between the duty of a faithful Catholic and the duty of an impartial student and of a free citizen.

Such are the most salient points on which the schism exists. Every Catholic who has regard for the integrity and dignity of his faith—every priest who has at heart the honesty of his profession—has the right to interrogate the Bishops on these points; and the Bishops are bound to answer, without reticence and without subterfuge.

It is this reticence and these subterfuges which

have been our ruin; and the time is come to restore to our Church the antique sincerity of early faith, which in these later days has lost its vigour.

But it must be observed that the facts and the doctrine which I here indicate are ramifications of a vast system, and that in order to reach each part the remedy must embrace the whole. The question is enlarged by the very excesses of Ultramontanism; and henceforward it concerns us to know whether the nineteenth century shall have its Catholic Reformation as the sixteenth had its Protestant Reformation.

Behold, ye Bishops! the Bride of Jesus Christ, who is also yours, the Holy Church pierced, like Him, by five wounds!

The first wound, which we may call that of the right hand, the hand which carries the light, is the darkening of the Word of God. The sacred volume, open to the world to enlighten and to fertilize it, why is it shut up in the obscurity of the dead languages, and under the seal of the most severe prohibitions?—The bread of doctrine and of life which God had prepared for the little ones as well as for the learned, how has it been withdrawn from them? It is vain to urge as a pretext the abuses of heresy and of unbelief. Place the Bible in its true relation to science by an intelligent exegesis, and neither will have any cause to fear the other: place it in its own

true relation towards the people by a religious education worthy of it and of them, and it will become the surest guide of the life of the people, the healthiest inspiration of their worship.

The wound of the other hand is the oppression of the intellect and the conscience by the abuse of hierarchical power. Doubtless Jesus Christ said to his Apostles, "Go and teach all nations," but He said to them no less, "The Kings of the nations exercise authority over them; let it not be so amongst you." Successors of the Apostles, hasten to remove from our shoulders the burden which neither we nor our fathers have been able to bear, and restore to us that light and easy yoke to which the love of our Redeemer has called us!

What shall we say of the wound of the heart? I will venture to call it by its name, because those who suffer most by it are those who dare the least to speak of it: it is the celibacy of the clergy. I do not speak of a voluntary celibacy, the more agreeable to God in proportion as it is free and joyous as the love which inspires it, the lot of a few souls who are called to it and maintained in it by an exceptional grace. But when it is extended without discrimination to natures the most diverse and the least prepared; when it is imposed as an external vow on their inexperience and on their enthusiasm, celibacy becomes

an institution merciless and too often immoral. Nations who believe that they see in it the exclusive ideal of perfection, fail to recognise the sanctity of domestic life, and, degrading the family, in the interest of the cloister, make these the refuge of common-place or, at least, of earthborn souls, and thus the hearth and the home cease to be the altars of God!

And now come the last wounds of the Church with which her feet are crippled, that she cannot stand firmly upon the earth: I mean worldly policy and superstitious devotion. It is true that the Church must have a policy, because she is of necessity in relation with the powers of this world, but its most complete expression is in the words of her Master, "When I shall be lifted above the earth, I will draw all men to myself." Is this that policy of a temporal power and of a secular arm which regards the possession of certain provinces in Italy and certain privileges in Europe as the essential condition of the empire of souls and as the pivot of the whole spiritual structure? A policy as disastrous to the Church and to the world as the Revolution which she does but promote while seeking to combat it, a policy the impotent and blind persistence in which it is now attempted to erect into a dogma! And yet there is no lack of spiritual force in the Catholicism of our days; it counts by thousands devoted souls, and it sees flourishing in

its bosom the most admirable virtues and the noblest works. Why is this piety, so touching and so true, too often delivered over to the seductions of a mysticism without depth, and an asceticism without austerity, very different from those which made the greatness of the old ages of Christendom? External, I had almost said material, devotions are multiplied without measure; the veneration of Saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin, is developed in a proportion foreign to the true sentiment of Catholicism, and with a character still more alien to it; and we feel amongst us the diminution of that worship of the Father in spirit and in truth which Jesus has made the soul of His religion. This is the condition into which our sins have reduced the body of Christ upon earth; the sins of the clergy as much and even more than the sins of the people. Bishops of the Church, have you no pity? Will you not apply an effectual remedy? "Is there, then, no balm in Gilead, and is there no physician there?"

I pause. My heart is too heavy to proceed. I know not what will come of my feeble words in the midst of the shock of empires and of the voice of blood which cries aloud from the fields of carnage. But this I do know, that, if my words are not sufficiently strong to hasten the accomplishment of the design of Providence, they are sufficiently true to announce it.

This also I know, that I am not separating myself from the holy Catholic faith, nor from the Church of my baptism and of my priesthood. If the venerated heads of the Church receive my humble appeal, I will resume in obedience, and at the same time in honour and loyalty, a ministry which has been the one passion of my youth, the one ambition of my life, and which my conscience alone has forced me reluctantly to abandon. If, on the contrary, they reply to me only by their condemnation or their silence, I shall not be disturbed in my affection for a Church greater than those who govern it, stronger than those who defend it; and—retaining the heritage which has been bequeathed to me by my fathers, and which cannot be torn from me by excommunications which, being unjust, are therefore invalid—I shall strive to bring to the preparation of the kingdom of God upon earth the individual and independent action which is the common privilege of all true Christians.

HYACINTHE.

The foregoing APPEAL to CATHOLIC BISHOPS, on its publication in *La Libertà*, a conservative paper of Rome, was suppressed by an order of the Procurator of the King. This seizure, which there was nothing in the article to justify, happened by a curious coincidence the day after the Honourable Signor Massari, secretary of the House of Representatives of Italy, and member of the conservative party, did me the unexpected honour of reading before the Italian Parliament the letter I had addressed him from Paris, the 18th of July, 1870. (See p. 18.) The strange measure of which my *Appeal* was the object raised a protest throughout the press, and

even in Parliament, which was occupied at that moment upon the Pontifical Guaranty Bill. The two following letters were called forth by this occasion :—

To SIGNOR JOSEPH MASSARI, *Member of the Italian House of Representatives.*

LONDON, *February* 12, 1871.

DEAR SIR AND FRIEND,

You have given to my letter of the 19th of last July an honour which it did not merit. In complying with your solicitation, and that of the excellent Duke of Sermoneta, I never thought that its publicity was to be that of the national tribunal. I will venture to say, however, that the rigorous measure to which my *Appeal to the Bishops* was subjected at almost the same moment was still less merited. Notwithstanding the rude contradictions of the times in which we live, I did not look for such an occurrence.

It would certainly be in vain to seek in that paper for anything which could justify the act by which I am placed, in some sort, in the same category with the vilest pamphleteers of impiety and anarchy. I find nothing in the article seized by the Procurator of the King in Rome but the same ideas, and almost the same words, with which only the day before you had drawn forth the applause of the Parliament at Florence.

In the "Appeal" I speak of the pretended dogma of personal infallibility of the Pope as "impious." In

my letter to you I call it criminal—the dogma which bestows upon a man one of the most incommunicable attributes of the Godhead. I address myself to the Bishops, and especially to those of them who have seen in this dogma one of the greatest perils for the Church, and in the Council which proclaimed it, an assembly without liberty and consequently without authority; I beg them to put an end to the trouble of conscience which they themselves have had a part in creating, and I entreat them to indicate to me, personally, under what conditions I shall be permitted to resume the exercise of a ministry for which I have always required entire freedom and absolute loyalty.

If these are the insults complained of under Article 185 of the Penal Code, I must confess that I do not understand human language. Insult has never been habitual to me, either in speech or in writing. I leave the sad monopoly of it to certain organs of Ultramontanism and demagogy. But if I could so far forget myself as to descend to the use of it, it would not be to turn it into a weapon against the Faith which I inherit from my fathers, against the Church which blessed my cradle, nor against Him of whom it is written, "thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people."

Yes, doubtless, it is necessary that the Pope should be independent and respected. No man declares this

with greater emphasis than I. But it is necessary that conscience should be independent and respected also. Both Pope and conscience have rights equally sacred, which ought not to be sacrificed one to the other, but which must be reconciled at Rome as in the rest of the world. Had I contested some one of the teachings of the Catholic religion, the civil power would have had nothing to do with it. I should have been responsible for it only to the censure of the Church and the judgment of God. All the more had I the right to demand the reforms that do not touch doctrines, but discipline and policy. I had the right to affirm that to the submission of the priest as well as of the layman there are limits which no enlightened conscience will ever consent to overstep; and when we are thrust by force beyond these limits, it is my right, it is my duty, to reply to the authority thus perverted, were it the highest upon earth, "We ought to obey God rather than man."

Forgive the emotion with which I write you, my dear Signor Massari, but the matter at issue is the liberty of conscience, of which you are one of the most earnest and eloquent defenders. This is the cause to which I have sacrificed my life, and it is precisely this that constitutes the most serious and vital complication in the Roman Question. It will never be solved by petty and evasive expedients, but only by the loyal applica-

tion of principles which belong at the same time to modern law and to the ancient Church: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

To Sir James Lacaita.

Boulogne-on-the-Sea, *February* 15, 1871.

Sir,

The arbitrary suppression at Rome which has just befallen my "Appeal to the Catholic Bishops," derives special importance from the political circumstances in which it has occurred. I am not alone in seeing therein a preliminary application, by way of experiment, of those legal guarantees which are going to replace and outdo the prerogatives of the Temporal Power.

I am well aware that you are not one of those who misapprehend the import of the Roman Question, and only see therein the political possession of a city and territory necessary for the integrity and splendour of Italy. If the Roman Question was only that, it would not have held public opinion in suspense and European politics in check for more than twenty years, not to say three-quarters of a century,—it would not at this present time be distracting men's minds from the German revolution—an event as great and decisive, in some sense, as the French revolution; in short, it would not be one

of the two or three supreme questions of the age in which we live. Vulgar politics occupies itself with the question, how the Pope and the King of Italy can manage to live together within the limits of the same capital, or at least within the frontiers of the same country; but far-seeing minds understand that it concerns, above all, the reconciliation of two powers not less exalted—and often, alas! not less hostile—the Church and the conscience.

This indispensable reconciliation of the spiritual authority of the Church with the legitimate liberty of the conscience, can only be realized by a sincere application of the principles of ordinary justice. Any other course is an indirect return to the Temporal Power and to the secular arm. For my part, I cannot express my astonishment that so many Catholics find no security for the head of the Church except in prerogatives of this nature, and no way of detaching him from the earth except by binding him down to it. Do they not then understand, that if there be political influences that can be exercised upon the Pope as a subject, there are others, no less numerous and no less formidable, which cannot act upon him except in his capacity as King? In any case do they not perceive that they do the Pope the cruelest injury in supposing him so accessible to these kinds of influence in the exercise of his spiritual ministry, and that their theories,

if one takes them in earnest, would lead to the conclusion that God should have built him a city in the clouds?

No! The true protection for the conscience of the Pope in the government of the Church is that which protects the conscience of the Bishop in the government of his own diocese—which protects the conscience of every honest man in the government of his own life—the sense of duty and the help of God!

I repeat it. To suppose that it is necessary to the independence and dignity of the Pope, that in the absence of a temporal power, upheld by the bayonets of Austria or France, an officer of the King of Italy should mount guard to keep Rome clear of all religious discussion except such as can show a permit from him, is to inflict upon the Pope and the Church a gratuitous insult, which, if accepted, would humble them to the lowest point in the estimation of the world.

The newspapers called *religious* could not understand how, being in London when I published my *Appeal to Bishops*, I could desire that it should appear in Rome. This appeal for a Catholic reform coming from the very centre of unity, and clothed in language, firm, and at the same time respectful, was nothing less in their eyes than an inspiration of hate. Judging my own feelings, doubtless, by theirs, they cried out in their habitual style of speech, "The apostate has pitched upon Rome as the scene of his hydrophobic attacks."[1] M. Louis Veuillot, with a fanatical burlesque of exaggeration such as he has at his command, even claimed that this act of mine constituted one of those *national sins*, every one of

[1] The *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican.

which had been punished, according to him, in the course of our unhappy war, by some reverse or humiliation of France.

For a long time it has been a matter of principle with me to take no notice of the allegations of a class of papers which are wanting in common sense even when they are not wanting in common honesty.

The Catastrophe of Paris.

Rome, *May* 29, 1871.

The Government and Parliament of Italy have just testified their sympathy to France in noble language. I am not surprised at it; but my heart is moved, and I feel that I must express my gratitude. In a time when blinded minds are busy in propagating falsehood and stirring up evil passions, with sowing discord between sister nations, it is the duty of all clear and honest minds to draw closer the ties which unite France and Italy. If the Latin races would maintain, I do not say their independence alone, but their dignity in presence of the menacing preponderance of the Germanic and Slavic races, personified in Prussia and Russia, it is of prime importance to them to remain united. It is only thus that they will be able to continue the traditions of that civilization of the West the destinies of which are bound up with those of the Catholic Church, and which needs nothing for the renewal of its ancient splendour but to extinguish within its own bosom the two enemies which grapple

there in such fatal conflict—revolution and absolutism, superstition and impiety.

Furthermore, at the present time, France, in defending her own cause is defending that of society everywhere. The dignity of human nature, order and liberty, the civilization of two hemispheres—these it is that have been outraged, beaten, trampled under foot in the bloody streets and among the blazing piles of Paris. It is vain for the men of the 18th of March to claim to be the representatives of two political ideas that would be just if they were confined within their true limits—the idea of the self-governed Commune, to which Bismarck himself has just done homage,[1] and that of the material and moral regeneration of the working classes. They have compromised these two causes by pushing them to intolerable excess, and sustaining them by the most outrageous means. They tried to secure their triumph at the expense of national unity and over the ruins of social and religious order. It was the party of assassins, incendiaries, and atheists, and this party magnified to the point where it became a nation, or at least the semblance of one.

[1] "We grant to Alsace and Lorraine more communal and individual liberty than the French do. Substantially the present communists of Paris (I do not mean the Internationals, who are for war at any price, but only the central and reasonable nucleus of the movement)—these communists, I say, are fighting for nothing but what is granted by the Prussian municipal system." (Reichstag, Session of May 2, 1871.)

What, then, is a nation without God? Philosophers have attempted to depict it, but facts have now revealed it in a reality which beggars all language to describe. The demonstration of Social Atheism is complete. Providence left it, for an hour, the grandest theatre in the world, the most unbridled orgies, the most terrible of dramas!

And yet is this people the only guilty party in the case, and is the cannon the only cure? Far be from us the easy and fatal illusion which would cheat us of the fruit of this frightful lesson!

Mr. Gladstone once said, "The nineteenth century is the working-man's century." The Labour Question is the question which engages the attention of the statesman and the man of science, and there will be no peace to society until it is settled. The Second Empire gave no small attention to the question, but it was too much in the line of the traditions of the Roman Cæsars—*panem atque circenses.* It had nothing in view but material ameliorations, and even for these it did not employ the right means; as, for example, in the excessive public works in great cities, especially Paris, which while stripping the country provinces of the workmen which they needed, heaped together a continually increasing population, severed from the normal conditions of family life, of religious influence, and consequently of morality. They should have

thought of that universal, popular instruction which is found among our neighbours across the Rhine, and which constitutes the power of Germany quite as much as does her military organization. They should have gone to work to heal those two ulcers, that aggravate each other and which are eating out the vitals of our population—the protracted celibacy of soldiers and the legalized prostitution of women. Above all, they should have offered from the higher ranks of society some better example to the common people than those of luxury and corruption.

And as to the Church, it has equally failed of doing what it ought to have done for the practical solution of the tremendous problem. The temporal power and infallibility of the Pope had absorbed the thoughts and labours of those who are presiding over its destinies at this unparalleled crisis of its history. Instead of the promises and teachings of the Gospel to the poor of this world, it gave them, through the noisy echoes of the press, and sometimes even in the voices of the Bishops, exasperated discussions on the Pope-King, the elevation of intolerance into a dogma, and the canonization of the Inquisition. I am not slandering the political and religious *régime* which we have endured for more than twenty years, and which is summed up in these two words—scepticism at Paris, fanaticism at Rome.

It is not calumny—it is not accusation, even—it is simple history.

But this, I say, is the lesson of the present hour: shall we, or shall we not, persist in these fatal blunders? This is the question. Looking upon the Paris where I dwelt, to which I preached, whose history I know—Paris in ashes—I have a right to lift up this bitter cry of a grief the depth of which God only knows.

Such is the work of a people that has forgotten God! And such is the work of those who make it impossible for the people to believe in their God, and above all to love Him!

P.S.—Just as I am finishing these lines, the telegraph announces that the Archbishop of Paris has been shot! This horrible crime is in confirmation of the mysterious law by which the innocent suffer for the guilty. Archbishop Darboy was one of those who understand and desire the alliance of the Church with modern society. If he did not realize all his conceptions, it was because the fatality of the times was stronger than he was. Yet he had no illusions, and he awaited death with that cool enthusiasm which characterized him in the gravest moments. I seem still to hear his voice as he said to me, at the last interview which I had with him, at the moment of my starting for Rome, "If they kill me, they will

only magnify the principle which I represent." And I shall never forget the tone with which he added, "We shall see each other again, if not in this world, then in another!"

The Petition of the Five French Bishops to the National Assembly.

"The Church abhors blood."—*Canon-law maxim.*

Rome, *June* 22, 1871.

His Eminence Cardinal Bonnechose has sent to the National Assembly a petition, protracted in its preambles but vague in its terms, in favour of the Temporal Power. It is signed by the Suffragan Bishops of the province of Rouen, and it is not without a painful surprise that I find among them the name of one of my oldest friends, the Right Reverend Bishop Hugonin of Bayeux.

I have unbounded respect for the authority of the Bishops, and I am convinced that the ills of the Church proceed, in great measure, from belittling it. I would not willingly contribute to the further depreciation of it; but the most imperative of duties at this hour is to withstand the propagation of error in a country which error has ruined and which nothing but the truth can save.

To begin with—let me say it plainly—it is painfully mortifying to see a French Cardinal, but lately a Senator of the Empire, appealing to the Government of his own country only as a second thought after he has appealed to its invaders. The line of conduct which Cardinal Bonnechose proposes now to exhausted France, by my knowledge was first tendered by him in that very city of Versailles to victorious Prussia, and Prussia would none of it.

It is true that for lack of an armed intervention, which had been hoped for from Prussia, they would have been content with a diplomatic protest on the part of France—so, at least, the journals of that party declare. But how can they help seeing that behind this protest there must be either impotence or blood? When a great nation protests against what it deems the violation of law or of honour, it has to be ready to draw the sword, even were that sword nothing more than the broken but glorious stump of a blade! If France does not do this, she dishonours herself; if she does do it, she plunges head-foremost and eyes shut into a terrible and futile war. I say a terrible war; standing here, as I do, I know whereof I speak. We should be rousing against us the patriotism and the despair of a whole people, and, victorious or vanquished, we should have poured out blood in streams. I add, a futile war. If we could succeed in conquering

Italy, we could never succeed in subjugating her. We might perhaps have power to create here a seething chaos, but we should be powerless to lay upon it the foundations of lasting order.

We shudder at such a prospect, and ask ourselves with amazement how it is possible that French Bishops can be found ready to push their own country to the edge of such a gulf. But that pitifully famous saying, "My clergy is a regiment, and it has to march,"[1] has its application in the very region where it originated. In every case of importance, there goes forth from Rome a word of command which is sure to be obeyed, and which produces a unity of action most imposing to those who do not understand the secret of it, not only on the part of the self-styled "religious" press and the population whom it stirs up to fanaticism, but on the part of the most enlightened and the best disposed Bishops. "France raised again to life, and, as we hope, reconverted to Christianity" (so, a few weeks since, wrote the organ of the Jesuits and the Roman Curia), "will not have far to seek for an enterprise well worthy of herself. God has made it ready for her according to His own purpose—not so much that she should reckon with the disloyalty, the outrage, and the ingratitude with which she has been repaid by those

[1] The expression was used by Cardinal Bishop de Bonnechose, in a speech in the French Senate.

who owed her everything, as that she should resume her post of honour in the van of the Catholic nations, by squaring accounts, to begin with, with those who insolently trample on the rights conferred upon the Church by Pepin and Charlemagne."[1]

I am too well convinced of the good sense of France to think her capable of being seduced into any such scheme as this. As the *Journal des Débats* very aptly said, the Government that would adopt such a project had better engage rooms in advance at Bedlam. The very distant allusion made to it by the late manifesto of the Count of Chambord was enough to alienate the best men from him. But, after all, we are passing through a crisis, in which, in some giddy moment, anything is possible. The excesses of the Commune at Paris show us what in another direction might be the excesses not less transient, but not less fatal, of the Ultramontane reaction.

This is the reason why it is needful to show the country that the restoration of the Temporal Power, even were it less an impossibility than it is, would still be useless, and fatal to the Church in its results.

Count Montalembert, who on his death-bed was disabused of many an illusion, but was more admirable than ever in his faith, and in his love to the Church, acknowledged to me that the Roman Question had been

[1] Rev. Father Curci, in the *Civiltà Cattolica.*

misunderstood. I go further than he, and say that it has been falsified. The experiment that has been in progress here for nearly a year, has demonstrated to minds capable of impartial attention, the weakness of the thesis maintained so eloquently and so sincerely by the most illustrious of French Catholics. Facts have established the uselessness of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope to the free exercise of his spiritual authority.

The imprisonment of Pius IX. at the Vatican is a myth which no one here takes in earnest, unless it is the one who is the victim of it, and in whose eyes it has been successfully made to appear as a duty. This prisoner, who may look out every evening from the windows of his palace and see crowds of priests and monks walking peacefully in the streets, himself practises dealings towards the government of Italy which no other government in Europe would tolerate within its dominions. He excommunicates, with the University professors who cannot believe in his infallibility, the army officers who choose to be faithful to their flag. He forbids students to attend the lessons of their teachers, and commands soldiers to desert the service of their King. A few days ago, one of the most respected parish-priests in Rome, the Abbé Caffiero, was deprived of the pastoral office simply because he had, according to custom, received the oath of the

bersaglieri; and even while I write, a force of *gens-darmes* is required to liberate from the House of Catechumens, a young Jewess—a girl of sixteen years, detained there against the will of her parents. I should never finish, if I were to collect all the facts which prove the exercise, and sometimes the abuse, of the Pope's liberty.

The Jubilee which we have just celebrated at Rome with not less of demonstration, although with greater calmness than in other countries, is itself an unanswerable demonstration. It is necessary to come here, after having read the correspondence of the Ultramontane newspapers, to get an idea of the systematic lying by which it is undertaken from day to day to keep Europe in delusion and agitation. Father Gratry has eloquently denounced this system in its application to the history of the past. But I would never have believed that it could be used so audaciously and so successfully to distort the history of our own times, under our own eyes, and almost in our own hands, as if we were not ourselves eye-witnesses and actors of it! God has no need of falsehood; but falsehood very often has need of God, and it is never so potent as when it is set forth in His name.

I have said that the restoration of the temporal power, if it were not impossible, would be fatal to the cause for which it is declared to be necessary. This is not my

conviction only. I hear it every day at Rome, from the lips of the most intelligent laymen, and of eminent priests and monks who cannot speak openly, but whom I manage to see, in spite of the secret police of the Cardinal Vicar—for I am bound in truth to declare that it is not the Pope's authority which is in peril here, it is private life, which is neither free nor respected. "Since you have rejected the gag with which our lips are muzzled"—so said one of these venerable men to me—"speak out to your countrymen, and tell them that they are deceived, and that the root of almost all the calamities of the Church is this temporal power which has been represented to them as the indispensable condition of its independence and prosperity!"

I would say further to my country that she is imposed upon no less perilously when she is exhorted, in the name of her offended honour, to attack Italy, or at least to threaten her. From of old, I am a friend of the Latin races, and particularly of Italy; but I have no disposition to be her blind eulogist; and I acknowledge that she has not been sparing of faults in her work of restoring unity. To cite but two examples: she would have done better not to enter Rome immediately after our reverses, September 20, 1870; and she made a great mistake, September 15, 1864, in signing a humiliating treaty which it was impossible to keep. Nevertheless, behind these mistakes of politicians, we ought to be

able to see the legitimate sentiments and the irresistible development of a great nation; and since I am a Christian, I do not fear to add that we ought to be able, in all this, to adore the noblest of the attributes of Providence, which makes evil itself help forward the coming of the good and the accomplishment of eternal designs.

Suffer me in one concluding reflection. France can never forget that it was the cannon of Arcola that awoke Italy from the sleep of ages in which she had lain under the yoke of the foreigner, in scepticism and corruption, the constant twin-companions of slavery. She can never forget that it was the cannon of Solferino which consummated the work of her deliverance, and commenced that of her unity. It is true that this work is not only the work of France, but at the same time that of the two Napoleons; but when was it that in breaking with the fatal traditions of the Empire we resolved to repudiate its real glories? The Vandals of the Commune have flung down the Vendôme Column. Let us not imitate their criminal folly by attempting to overthrow this monument, more glorious than the battle-sculptured bronze,—the unity of a great people enfranchised—I had almost said created—by the power of France!

HYACINTHE.

ROME, *June* 22, 1871.

The Sorbonne and the Council.

Rome, *February* 2, 1872.

One drop was yet wanting to my cup, and it was not the least bitter of them. It remained for me to see my own brother, without any provocation on my part, making a direct and public attack upon me.[1] If he found it necessary to separate his cause from mine, that had just been accomplished by his giving in, with the rest of the Sorbonne, his solemn adhesion to the Vatican Council. He has thought it his duty to go beyond this. I am sorry for it, and I forgive him, for I know that he will suffer from it more than he deserves. I shall not engage in the controversy which he offers me; but banished henceforth from the family fireside, where I have become "a grief to the family," I will meditate in my exile and my sadness on the words of the Master: "I am come, not to bring peace but a sword, and a man's foes shall be they of his own house."[2]

And yet the cause to which I have sacrificed everything does not suffer me to keep absolute silence. And since it is in the direction of the Sorbonne that defections and aggressions multiply, I am entitled to address my words

[1] Le Schisme de Munich; a Lecture by the Abbé Jules Théodore Loyson, at the Sorbonne. (*Revue des Cours littéraires*, 2nd Series, No. 30.)

[2] Matt. x.

to the man[1] who represented that institution in the Vatican Council, with a learning and courage which no one has forgotten except himself. I do this with deep and sincere respect, and at the same time with perfect freedom. I never have learned that boasted skill in the management of language and action which have helped to ruin the Church of France and France itself; and now more than ever I shrink from any complicity with it.

When Monseigneur Maret was writing his book, he did me the honour to consult me. The proof-sheets of the work were shown me, and I read them with the most earnest attention. Nevertheless, Bishop Maret must remember that I never got to the end of the reading. For in a time when words are nothing unless they are supported by deeds, I foresaw that this most temperate and conclusive book would be disavowed by its author, and suppressed without being refuted. But what I did not foresee was the anathema which the illustrious theologian would presently be hurling at such of his friends as should abide faithfully by his own principles.

At the present time, we—Dr. Döllinger and myself—are to him, just as absolutely as to M. Veuillot, nothing but schismatics and neo-Protestants. And why? Because we cannot recognize as Ecumenical a Council

[1] Monseigneur Maret, Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne, Paris.

which he himself contested up to the last moment. This it is which they call "openly proclaiming the very principle of Protestantism—the superiority of the individual judgment to the judgment of the Catholic hierarchy."[1] But it is the proper duty of the individual, at least when he is sufficiently instructed (and this is to be presumed in the case of a priest and a theologian), before submitting himself, to prove the validity of the judgments uttered in the name of the Church; and for this task there have always been sure signs for distinguishing between the authentic judgments of the Church and the unauthentic.

Two of these distinguishing signs, so far as Councils are concerned, are perfect liberty of discussion and moral unanimity in voting. The world is well aware that both of these have been lacking in the Council of the Vatican. The Bishops of the minority complained of it at the time, not only in books[2] and in newspapers,[3] inspired or patronized by themselves, but in solemn manifestoes, which will be an everlasting honour to their

[1] The Abbé Jules Th. Loyson, *loc. cit.*

[2] See, particularly, the two publications, "Ce qui se passe au Concile," and "La Dernière Heure du Concile."

[3] I may refer to the correspondence of the *Moniteur Universel*, the *Gazette de France*, the *Français*, and the *Concorde*. In relation to the last-named journal, in which I preferred to take no part, Bishop Maret wrote to me: "Do not cease to encourage your brother [the editor], and let the new journal become really a power. Events may give it a great position, and a great part to play."

memory, and an everlasting reproach. In a letter which he wrote me from Rome at this time, Bishop Maret himself marked out conditions limiting the authority of the future decrees: "May God give us the light, the courage, and the perseverance needful to clear up this immense controversy, and to inspire at least a doubt in the minds of those of our colleagues who are bent upon a partisan course. Will they leave us the needful liberty? There is reason to doubt it, since they have imposed on us a new system of rules which puts the fate of the discussion into the hands of ten members and of a numerical majority very skilfully organized. If our liberty is not perfect, if even discussion is impossible in the hall in which we meet, what shall we do? This is a weighty question, and full of perplexity for our colleagues."[1]

From that time on, instead of being withdrawn, the oppressive system of rules was still further aggravated, and it became perfectly clear that the policy had been resolved upon, of depriving the bishops of what they had the assurance to call "the liberty of doing wrong." Accordingly, when it came to the final vote, a great nnmber of bishops, and the most important of them (Bishop Maret himself was of the number), refused to vote, and gave the reasons of their absence in an address to the Pope. It is true that subsequently the

[1] Letter of Bishop Maret, March 12, 1870.

greater part of these prelates have sent their adhesion to Rome; but to say nothing of the fact that this adhesion has been, in most cases, extorted by a pressure which it is easy to understand, it does not amount to a judgment of council, and can have no retrospective bearing on the facts which have invalidated the Vatican Council.[1]

In relation to the chief of these facts—the absence of liberty in the Council—the Abbé Méric, Professor at the Sorbonne, says, with childish simplicity, that we ought to refer to the testimony of the bishops, who on returning to their dioceses declare that they have

[1] I record here for the benefit of history the exact words which Monseigneur Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, said to myself a short time after his adhesion, and a very few days before his glorious martyrdom:—"This dogma has no such importance as you attach to it. It really settles nothing. I was opposed to it, not as a theologian, for it is not false, but as a man, because it is nonsense (*inepte*). They set us at Rome to playing the part of so many sacristans; but for all that there were at least two hundred of us who were capable of something better." I do not think that it is any indiscretion to quote these words, which were not spoken to me in confidence, but as an answer to Dr. Döllinger, who had just written to me to inquire about the Archbishop's position. And I certainly do not feel that I am doing any wrong to a memory that is dear to me. On the contrary, I feel that I am honouring this memory by showing that while he never ceased to be a Catholic, Archbishop Darboy never became an Ultramontane. And that if he did at last reconcile himself—wrongly, as I think—to a formula which he deemed vague enough and flexible enough not to be false, he by no means disavowed the doctrines defended by him with so much force and clearness in the Vatican Council at the session of May 20, 1870, the authentic report of which ought to be read in the *Documenta ad illustrandum Concilium Vaticanum*, published by Professor Friedrich, 2 vols. 8vo., Nördlingen. I delivered Dr. Döllinger's letter to the Archbishop, March 22, 1871; two days after, the 24th, I called to recover it. It was the last time I was to see him in this world!

been sufficiently free. But while they were at Rome, as we have just seen, these bishops declared the contrary. To which of these two testimonies ought I to give credence? Is it not pertinent to recall those harsh but well-merited words which the Pope directed to the prelates absent from the public session of July 18th: "Have you then two consciences and two wills?" *Sunt-ne duæ conscientiæ? Sunt-ne duævoluntates?*

Here is the point which divides us; and it is in vain to attempt imposing upon the public, even if you can impose on your own conscience. The question in hand is not on one of those mysteries impenetrable to human reason, before which faith bows in adoration, but simply on a fact of contemporary history. Was the gathering of the Vatican a genuine Ecumenical Council, binding the faith of Catholics under the sanction of everlasting life or death; or rather—if I may make use of the expression which I take from the lips of an illustrious priest, who was then in the opposition but has since submitted—was it not merely "an ambuscade followed up with a *coup d'état?*"

III.

I shall not take the pains to follow the Professors of the Sorbonne into the Byzantine discussions into which they enter on the merits of the pretended dogma, following in the train of the German bishops to prove

that the Pope's infallibility is not a personal infallibility. If we must go to Germany for our arguments, I prefer, for my part, the honest and courageous learning of its universities to the official recantations of its bishops.

No matter what you call it, personal or impersonal, infallibility is henceforth so attached to the person of the Pope, that it depends on him (and the organs of Ultramontanism vaunt it every day as a new and necessary triumph of the principle of authority in the Church)—it depends solely on him, I say, to decide the gravest questions without the concurrence, or at least without the judgment, of the Episcopate. It is enough for him to declare that he intends to pronounce a definition *ex cathedrâ*, or in other terms, it is enough for him *to will to be infallible.*

It is of no avail to say that this infallibility is restricted to the domain of faith and morals. How long is it since these regions of faith and morals have ceased to be the innermost and most sacred of our being,—the very ones which it behoves us to guard with a sort of divine jealousy against every illegitimate intrusion on the part of man, and in which we have a supreme need, when acknowledging doctrinal authority, of every safeguard for the liberty and dignity of our souls, while insuring the absolute certainty of our consciences?

I am astounded at seeing priests and bishops who know all the worth of faith, and who, I doubt not, would be ready, at need, to die for it,—abandon it with a mystical recklessness to the irresponsible decisions and volitions of a single man, and comfort themselves for this amazing abdication with the notion that they are going to find some remains of independence left to them, within the boundaries of science and politics! It is one of those humiliating and pitiable contradictions in which our nature abounds. Unhappily for the self-styled Liberal Catholics, in the eyes of the Ultramontanes who rule the Church, and in the practice of the Roman Curia, all science depends on faith. When, two centuries ago, Rome condemned the astronomy of Galileo, it did this in the name of the Bible; and at the present day it acts in just the same fashion when it proscribes the best founded systems of philosophy, the best settled facts of history, the most unquestionable methods of the natural sciences. And as for morality, it surely deserves the honour which Leibnitz rendered to it when he exclaimed that morality penetrates everywhere. The individual, the family, the state, gravitate within its sphere, and the entire system of human affairs, in its humblest details as in its majestic completeness, abides under its empire. It is difficult to understand how any could seriously have imagined

that they were restricting papal infallibility in assigning to it such vast frontiers. Innocent III. was more logical or more sincere, when he justified his interferences with the politics of his time, by those famous words: "I am not deciding about the fief, I am deciding about the sin." *Non sum judex de fendo, sed sum judex de peccato.*

And what is the advantage of remembering, with the Swiss bishops, that "the Pope is neither infallible nor impeccable in his life and conduct, in his political views, in his relations with temporal princes and governments, nor even in the government of the Church in general;" for after laying down these excellent rules, we are obliged in particular, as a consequence of this duality —I was going to say this duplicity—of doctrine, which is at once the vice of Ultramontanism and its best weapon, we are obliged to defend all the usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, through all the ages, as the exercise of so many sacred rights.[1] How,

[1] The proposition condemned by Pius IX. in his Syllabus, is well known:—"*Romani Pontifices et Concilia œcumenica à limitibus suæ potestatis recesserunt, jura Principum usurparunt.*" ("The Roman Pontiffs and Ecumenical Councils have overstepped the limit of their power, and have usurped the rights of rulers.") I content myself with setting it over against these solemn words of Gregory VII. to the seventh Roman Council:—"*Agite nunc quæso, Patres ac Principes sanctissimi, ut omnis mundus intelligat et cognoscat quia si potestis in cælo ligare et solvere, potestis in terra Imperia, Regna, Principatus, Ducatus, Marchios, Comitatus et omnium hominum possessiones tollere unicuique, et concedere.*" ("Act now, I entreat you, most holy Fathers and Princes, so that the whole world may understand and know that if you have power to bind and loose in heaven,

indeed, could we forget, that it is precisely "in their capacity as supreme teachers of the Church, and when they were making, upon points of faith and morals, decisions which were to be received and held as binding by all the faithful," that the Roman pontiffs have committed and sanctioned the most of these abuses of power?

Was it not by one of this sort of decisions, the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, that Boniface VIII. defined the subjection of the civil authority to the ecclesiastical, and launched against the kingdom and Church of France excommunications and interdicts, before which our fathers never quailed? Is it not by solemn bulls, and, alas! in the domain of morals, that other Popes have promulgated that legislation of the "Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition," which has turned over to the prison and the stake thousands of men denounced for heresy or witchcraft, and which has stained the immaculate robe of the Church with blood which will continue to cry for vengeance until it has been disavowed?

Excuse—for well you may—excuse the heads of the Church because of the prejudices and the barbarity of the time; but do not try to prove that their errors and

you also have power on earth to give or take away from any person whatever, empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, earldoms, and the possessions of all men."

their crimes are aught else than crimes and errors, or that their infallibility is not involved in acts so solemn and official ?

The heart swells with indignation and grief in presence of the system of falsehood which prevails in the Church, and of the duplicity of language to which the most upright minds are abandoning themselves. Great God ! whither are we tending ! and what are Thy judgments upon Thy heritage !

Each day my conviction grows deeper that the salvation of France can come only from Christianity ; but I am no less convinced that she will never accept Christianity under such forms, and I will add, that she never ought. As for myself, standing immovable in the faith and love which I have preached to the world, Catholic and priest, and resolved by God's grace to continue such to my latest breath, I feel myself utterly incapable of exercising the ministry of the Church in the ranks of a clergy which possesses so many just claims to respect, but which has been carried out of its course by a system for which it was not made ;—this grand clergy of France, which at an unparalleled crisis of history sums up its plan for the restoration of our ruined country in these three points : to accept the infallibility of the Pope, to reëstablish his temporal power, and to perpetuate the ignorance of the people ! Such a programme as this is not for me. It would not

be honest—it would be a lie to men and to my own conscience, if I were to suffer it to be written upon my banner.

Programme of the Committee of Old Catholics of Rome.

The Committee established at Rome for the defence of the Catholic faith against the innovations of these latter days, and for the promotion of a reformation of discipline and morals in the Church, feel it important to declare distinctly that they mean to build their work upon the divine foundation of Jesus Christ. In their view, all attempts at religious reformation that are inspired by any other spirit are impotent. They therefore confess the Christ, the Son of the Living God, the sole Redeemer of men and of nations, and await from Him alone the regeneration of which the world is in need.

Firmly attached to the faith established in the Church by Christ and His apostles, we accept, with the Holy Scriptures, all traditions of divine origin, and all legitimate decrees of the Catholic Church. But we reject absolutely the human traditions which have been mingled with the deposit of Revelation, and the abuses of authority by which it has been attempted to maintain and enforce them. We reject, in particular, the

Council of the Vatican, as wanting in liberty and ecumenicity, and we reject the dogmas which it promulgated, as being the consecration of all the errors and abuses previously introduced into Catholicism.

We demand, like our fathers in the faith, a reform of the Catholic Church in the pastors and the flock. We believe this reform more necessary and urgent now than ever, by reason of the obstinate refusal to undertake it, and because of the intolerable excess which our evils have reached.

Without denying the salutary developments which have been produced in later ages, we deem it essential to an effective reform, to go back to the period which preceded the separation of the East and West. It is upon the basis of the first eight centuries that the longed-for re-union of the various Christian communions is to be first prepared and then accomplished.

We are not willing, at any price, to separate ourselves from the Catholic Church to form a new sect. We acknowledge the legitimate authorities which represent the Church; but at the same time, we affirm our right and our duty to resist such requirements as are merely arbitrary, much more those which are iniquitous, and which can in no wise bind the conscience of a Christian.

In the violent and necessarily transitional state of the Catholic Church at this time, the different com-

mittees organized in various parts of it ought to have some common understanding, in order to give unity of direction to the movement of resistance and reformation, and to prepare for the assembling of a council really free and ecumenical, and the choice of pastors who are faithful to the primitive faith and to the spirit of charity and liberty which should reign in the Church of Jesus Christ.

(Signed)

HYACINTHE,

Honorary President.

FRA ANDREA D'ALTAGENE,

Capuchin, President.

ROME, *May* 1872.

CONCERNING MY MARRIAGE.

"And now behold I go bound in the Spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there. Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth from city to city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me. But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the necessity which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God!"—Acts xx. 22—24.

PARIS, *August* 1872.

THE determination at which I have arrived belongs of its own nature to the privacy of individual life, and relates to that which is most intimate, dearest, and most sacred in human existence.

The character of a priest, which I have no intention and no wish to renounce, impresses on this act, in spite of myself, a startling publicity, I might almost say a terrible solemnity. If marriage were for me merely a personal satisfaction, I should not think of it for a moment. I know too well that the pure and humble home which I create will be insulted by some, deserted by others, and that it must embrace within its circle anguish and happiness together.

My principal grief is that I shall have afflicted many souls, that I shall have scandalized, certainly against my will, but no less certainly, some of those little ones who believe in Christ and for whom I would gladly die. I give to the wicked and to the frivolous—two classes all too numerous, and who have a fatal facility for leading mankind—a new and powerful weapon, not only against myself, but against my cause. "He wished to marry" will be the cry from all sides, "and he had not the courage to say so." "He spake of infallibility, and it was but a pretext; this high-sounding drama ends in an every-day comedy."

Determined beforehand to remain silent in face of the attacks which will be levelled at me, I desire once for all to give to the thoughtful, and more especially to the Christian public, explanations which bear unavoidably a personal character; and this appears to me to be a duty I owe to the consciences which

my example must of necessity either perplex or enlighten.

If I had left my convent for the purpose of marrying —which was not the case—I would not hesitate to admit it; for I should have done nothing which could not be openly avowed before those who place the natural law of God, with its inalienable rights and duties, above human laws, and especially above conventional engagements. That which is really a matter of guilt and blame is to drag on without conviction, and too often without morality, the chains of obligations which have ceased to bind, save only out of deference to the prejudices of the world and the calculations of individual interest. That which ought to excite reprobation, that which, for my part, I have always looked upon with horror, is not marriage, but sin! Unswervingly faithful to the principles of the Catholic Church, I feel myself in no manner bound by its abuses; and I am profoundly convinced that amongst the most fatal of these abuses are perpetual vows. The fault of Luther lay not in that pure and pious marriage in which his example ought to be followed by the larger number of those who load him with maledictions; it was solely in his rupture with the legitimate traditions of the necessary unity of the Church.

I repeat, then, if I had quitted my convent in order to marry, if I had sacrificed the glorious pulpit of Notre

Dame de Paris to a great and legitimate attachment, it may be, to a conscientious duty, I should not feel that, in doing so, I had done anything which needed apology. But, if I had not had sufficient frankness and courage, if for the sake of better preparing any secret designs I had concealed them under the veil of dogmatic controversies, I should have been guilty, deeply guilty, and should have deserved to find myself disavowed and scorned by all honest hearts.

Only, if I may be allowed to say so, this mean calculation would have been no less absurd than unworthy. In the presence of the deeply-rooted and all-powerful prejudice which has prevailed for ages amongst the Latin nations, and especially among the French, I could never have been simple enough to hope that a few utterances against Papal Infallibility and against compulsory celibacy would change, as by enchantment, the whole current of opinion. In making the declaration which I have never for one moment ceased to make, and which I now once more repeat, that I intend to remain a Catholic and a priest, I should not have practically ameliorated in any degree my position in regard to marriage. I should, on the contrary, have aggravated it; and I should have created for myself, in a certain sense wilfully, a situation which to most would have appeared illogical, insupportable, and without solution.

—If I could have so trifled with my conscience, with the consciences of others, if for me the most formidable problems of religion had been but pretexts for my interests or my passions, it would have been more easy for me to have accomplished my object by inflicting on Protestantism an insult which it does not deserve, and deceiving the high-minded friends whom I number in its ranks. I could have found among them, by entering their communion, the justification which I should have sought for in vain under the banner of the Catholic opposition to the Council and the new dogma.

No, my marriage has no connection with any religious convictions, nor with my act of the 20th of September, 1869—or, rather, let me say, it is most intimately connected with them, but in that large and general sense which binds together all the steps achieved by a soul in progress towards light and liberty. I will express my meaning with entire openness. I owe to the rule of religious celibacy some of the most exquisite joys, some of the most profound and decisive experiences of my existence. From the age of eighteen, when I chose it, I have observed it with a fidelity for which I give glory to God. If now, at the age of forty-five—in the calmness as well as in the maturity of my judgment, of my heart, of my conscience, in a word, of my whole being—I believe myself bound to renounce it, it is that marriage comes home to me as one of those laws

of the moral government of the world which cannot be set aside without overturning the fabric of life and without running counter to the will of God. I did not say that this law comes home to all. I believe that celibacy may be a holy and glorious exception. I only say that this law presents itself unmistakably to me. When a man has received in his heart, as another exception no less rare, holy and glorious, that pure and lofty love in which the world does not believe because it is not worthy of it, such a man, be he priest or be he monk, has the most absolute proof that he is not of the number of those self-dedicated victims of whom the Gospel speaks. Such a man am I; and here once more I give glory to God for what He has wrought in me. Such workings of His Spirit may appear contradictory; but their true harmony is known to Him. At the very moment when I seemed to be abandoned, renounced by my friends and by my kinsmen, exiled by blow upon blow from my Church, from my country, from my family, He sent on my solitary and desolate path a noble and holy affection, a sublime devotion, poor in this world's goods, rich in the gifts of intellect and of heart; and, when all had crumbled away, alone, or almost alone, this support remained to me. Surely this support would not be what it ought to be, I should not recognize the blessing which God has given me, were I to hesitate in seeking for it the consecration of marriage.

And why should it be otherwise? I see no reasons which make marriage unlawful to me; for I cannot admit as such the law of any ecclesiastical system, and still less the prejudices of my fellow-countrymen.

I will ever submit myself to the laws of the Church when I am not called upon to recognize as such what Jesus Christ, speaking to the Pharisees of the ancient people, already designated as "the commandments of men which made of no effect the commandments of God" (Matt. xv. 6—9). It is fully admitted that celibacy is not an article of faith; it ought to be acknowledged that it is not even a Catholic discipline, but merely of the discipline of the Latin Church. Even at this hour, in the East, the Catholic clergy are married, with the full approbation of the Holy See. It is true that such marriages must precede and not follow ordination; but this restriction, besides being full of objections, is without meaning in the eyes of sound judgment, and does not the less establish in all its strength the principle that, in the mind of the Church, there exists no real incompatibility between the two great sacraments of ordination and marriage.

The countervailing prejudice belongs to a perversion of moral ideas, which one has a right to marvel at finding amongst Christian nations. How have they come to degrade marriage to this base and unworthy conception of it, which is as repugnant to the delicate and

generous instincts of the heart as to the teachings of Revelation? Truly, if marriage is but a concession to the infirmity or even to the passions of our nature, I admit that it is for the priest a degradation and defilement. But I am then equally at a loss to see how it can be reconciled with the dignity conferred by Christian baptism, with the holiness which our Christian profession demands; and, to be logical, it would be necessary, with Tertullian, to forbid it to true Christians everywhere. Christian marriage—the only marriage of which I speak—is not a concession to our weakness, it is not even a mere means for perpetuating our race; it is, if I may be allowed to quote myself, "the most complete, the most intimate, and the most holy union that can exist between two human beings." It is thus that I defined it only five years ago, in the pulpit of Notre Dame; and I added, with St. Paul and the whole Catholic tradition, that it has been since the Gospel the mysterious and the radiant likeness of the union of the Divine Word with human flesh—of the union of Christ with the Church—"*Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia*" (Eph. v. 32). It is because we no longer understand the doctrine of the Apostles, nor the examples of the first Christians, that we have ceased to see in the union of husband and wife "the estate of marriage honourable in all" (Heb. xiii. 4); that we have come to regard it as incompatible with the

condition of the perfect life; and that we shudder to think of the proximity of the altar of God to the family hearth, which also ought to be a sanctuary, and in one sense the first of all sanctuaries!

Another error, not less fatal and not less widely spread, consists in regarding the state of celibacy as capable of being made the subject of a perpetual engagement. Precisely because it relates to what is most personal, most delicate, and, I ought to add, most perilous in the relations of the soul with God, celibacy ought to remain at each moment of its duration the work of grace and of liberty. Only to the Holy Spirit of God does it belong to attract toward it and to maintain in it the small number of exceptional beings whom He has rendered capable. But no human authority, neither the authority of councils nor of Popes, can impose as a commandment, and especially as an eternal commandment, that concerning which Jesus Christ Himself only spoke a word of counsel, "to those who are able to receive it." "Now concerning the unmarried," wrote the Apostle St. Paul to the Corinthians, "I have received no commandment of the Lord; but I give my council" (1 Cor. vii. 25). This counsel it is the mission of the Church to transmit to all through the course of ages, but without imposing it on anyone; and, if I may here speak my whole mind, there is not a single case in which the Church should prohibit marriage to its pastors; but

there are a thousand where it ought to command them to marry.

The individual himself has not the power of making an absolute surrender of a right which at any moment and in so many ways is liable to be changed into a duty. In answer to my question on the liberty of the clergy, whether secular or regular, with regard to marriage, one of the most learned and most pious bishops of the Roman Church (it will be easily understood that I do not feel justified in giving his name) wrote to me these words : " Such a step is always permissible, often necessary, and sometimes a sacred duty." Similar convictions exist in the most enlightened minds, amongst those especially who possess the light of experience and who know the state of the clergy and the practical condition of human life ; and, if such convictions are not expressed freely, it is the fault of the iron yoke which weighs upon the bishops as well as upon the priests, no less than the culpable connivance of public opinion.

I have just named public opinion. As much as I respect this in its legitimate expressions and requirements, in that same proportion do I despise it when it rests only on prejudice. To recoil before a prejudice is to recoil before that which has no real existence ; and is even to give by that means a body and a force to this empty phantom. Is not this, however, what is done every day, through a mixture of puerile fear and hypo-

critical subserviency by the minds most capable of counteracting the errors of their time? Fatal power of falsehood, which has ruined and which still ruins our unfortunate country! It is this which obliges me at this moment to seek on a foreign soil the consecration which the law, or at least the legal authorities of France, would refuse to my marriage, because I have at the same time the honour and the misfortune to be a priest. But I will make no further concession to this false spirit. I shall return, keeping my head erect and my heart calm, without fear, as without anger; and nothing shall hinder me from inhabiting that country and breathing that air which are mine, and which shall remain dear to me in spite of the iniquities by which they have been profaned. Nothing shall hinder me from claiming for each one of my brethren in the priesthood the legal right of marriage, the violation of which, not only in a whole class of citizens, but even in the person of a single man, should suffice to place the legislation of a people under the ban of truly civilized nations.

Yes, I am convinced that France, no less than the Church, needs the example which I give, and of which the fruits shall be reaped by the future, even should they fail in the present. I know well the true state of my country; and, whilst it was still willing to hear my voice, I never failed to preach to it that its regene-

ration must come through the life of the family. I tore aside without mercy the veil of its sumptuous and deceptive prosperity; and I laid bare the two sores which waste it and which mutually envenom one another—" marriage without love and love without marriage—that is to say, marriage and love without Christianity." (" *Conférences sur la Famille*," 1866.) I know well also the true state of our clergy, and know all the devotion and virtue that is to be found in its ranks; but I am not ignorant of how much it needs in a vast proportion of its members to be reconciled with the interest, the affections, and the duties of human nature and of civil society. It is only by breaking with the traditions of a blind asceticism, and of a theocracy which is, in fact, more political than religious, that the priest, become once more a man and a citizen, should at the same time find himself more truly a priest. " That he rule well his own house," says St. Paul, " having his children in a subjection with all gravity; for, if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?" (1 Timothy iii. 4–5.)

Such is the reform without which all others will be illusory and sterile. Let us bow to the will of God, if we believe in the power of His Spirit to maintain in the midst of us a chosen band of priests and daughters of charity whose celibacy, always free and

always voluntary, shall be truly a state of purity, a state of joy, or, at least, of peace, in sacrifice; but, at the same time, let us hasten the moment when the law of the Church and the law of France shall constitute in liberty, in purity, in dignity, the marriage of the clergy—that is to say, the concentration of all the influences of family and religion in the model of a Christian home.

I am nothing, O my God; but I feel myself called by Thee to break the chains which Thou hast not made, and which weigh so heavily, often alas! so shamefully on the holy tribe of Thy priesthood. I am a frail and fallible man; but, nevertheless, Thy grace hath made me strong to brave the tyranny of opinion, to refuse to bow before the prejudices of my time and country, and hath made me stedfast to act as though there were in the world naught save my conscience and Thee.

HYACINTHE LOYSON.

III.

DISCOURSES.

III.—DISCOURSES.

MUNICH CONFERENCES.[1]

True and False Catholicism.

As I rise to address you in a language which though familiar to you is yet a foreign language, and find myself standing in a place which ought to be, and I trust is to be, occupied by the great teachers whose instruction I have come hither to seek, I have need to remember all the kindness with which you have already twice received me. Cicero says that the orator is what his audience makes him. I rely much upon you this evening, and also upon the subject of our common meditations—a subject which may well provoke to eloquence, for it is worthy to lead to martyrdom. In the religious crisis through which we are passing, two things are supremely necessary,—sincerity and logic. I shall try to turn both of them

[1] Of the series of five conferences given at the *Museum* of Munich, during the autumn and winter of 1871, this, and the "Priesthood of the Family," are the only ones that have been preserved.

to use in defining the true position of those who reject the infallibility of the Pope, and the system to which this doctrine is linked.

The question is asked, What are you, and where are you going? I answer, We are Catholics, and we are not going anywhere. We are going to stay in the Church from which such futile but malicious attempts are made to drive us out. If we were Protestants, or if we were going towards Protestantism, I should say so frankly.

And seeing that I shall have occasion here more than once to speak of Protestantism, I beg leave to speak as freely as I do respectfully and kindly. There are in Protestantism serious defects, and—to speak my whole mind about it—serious errors. But I am well aware, also, that it retains Christian truths and Christian virtues, and upright and noble souls. In its ranks, both in Europe and in America, I reckon some of my dearest friends. I would not willingly speak a word or cherish a thought which could give them pain.

Having said this, once for all, I repeat that as for us, we are Catholics, and intend to remain such, and that in the terrible conflict in which our Church is divided, it is we that are standing for its traditional principle, in the double point of view of truth and unity; truth absolute and consequently immutable, unity perfect and in one sense exclusive—these are

the two distinctive marks of Catholicism: and they have for guarantees, the first, the rule of faith summed up, for substance, in the constant and universal witness of the Church; the second, the constitution of the hierarchy and especially the central institution of the Papacy.

Let us study these two points in succession, and we shall be convinced of the co-existence and the antagonism of two irreconcilable Catholicisms, the old and the new, the true and the false.

I.

The Catholic Rule of Faith, and the Infallibilist Rule of Faith.

Three great principles, or, if you prefer the expression, three great methods, in our time, are disputing among themselves the empire of the soul—Rationalism, Protestantism, Catholicism.

Rationalism suppresses Revelation. Lowering the Bible to the level of a merely human production, the prophets and Christ Himself to the rank of heroes and sages, it undertakes to derive all religion from the depths of our own nature and the light of our own reason. You perceive that I am here speaking only of religious Rationalism, ordinarily called *Deism*.

Protestantism maintains Revelation, but mutilates it; and in effect, while extolling the Bible, separates it from

the living tradition which is its complement and explanation, and substitutes the individual faith of the Christian for the collective faith of the Church.

Catholicism alone abides faithful to the whole revelation, written and spoken—spoken before it was written, and so written, I repeat, that it ever stands in need of being completed and illustrated by speech; only this speech is not that of an individual conscience, of an isolated person, but the universal and constant teaching of the Church—in those masterly words of Vincent of Lerins, "what has been believed by all, always, everywhere." *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.* Doubtless the faith of the intelligent Catholic is profoundly personal, but it has for its basis and its guide the collective faith of the Church.

These three methods may be summed up in three words:—the abstract idea in Rationalism, the dead letter in Protestantism, the living word in Catholicism.

But there is a fourth system, which having been hitherto included among contested opinions, now undertakes to impose itself upon our faith. It is *Ultramontanism*,—more properly called *Papism*, or, when carried to its logical conclusion, *Infallibilism.* The partisans of this system have, nowadays, the effrontery to put it forth as the only Catholic system. Its adversaries often make the mistake of controverting it as an exaggerated Catholicism. For my part, I declare it to

be the very antipodes of Catholicism. According to the Ultramontanes, the Church is not infallible, but only the Pope; and the infallibility of the Church (since it is necessary to keep up at least the name of it) is only a derivation from that of the Pope—the passive infallibility of a pupil who says over the lessons of an infallible teacher. Henceforth, there is no need of inquiring what has been believed in the Church of all lands and ages. It is enough to interrogate the oracle that speaks at the Vatican.

I would not be wanting in respect for Pius IX. I have said before that I honour his grey hairs, his misfortunes, even his faults, for they originate in his pious illusions. Four times in my life I have conversed with him in private, and while I could not but perceive his infirmities of intellect and will, I have recognized his excellent qualities of heart. I will not say, then, that he is personally guilty, but his words are guilty beyond all my power of expression, when he does not fear to proclaim himself to be both tradition and the Church. "*Io sono la tradizione; io sono la Chiesa.*"

This is the complete reverse of the Catholic faith. It is an odd way of going back, under the form of authority and mysticism, to the Protestant principle of individualism—the private inquiry and private judgment of an individual who puts himself in the place of the inquiry and judgment of the universal Church.

For my part, I frankly own that I would prefer the method of Protestantism to that of Ultramontanism—the state of mind implied by the former, to the state of mind produced by the latter. If we were shut up to choose between these two errors, my choice would be in favour of the perilous emancipation of each man's conscience in the light of the Bible and of Christ, and against the prostration of all consciences, wrested from the Bible and the living Christ, and brought into bondage, without the right of question or discussion, to the dictum of a man who might be John XII. or Alexander VI.! A system like this is no more Protestantism than it is Catholicism. Its real kindred is with the religion of Buddha.

I do not exaggerate. I have tried breathing in that air, and I know what it contains.

But history shows, beyond all room for doubt, that the teaching of the Popes and that of the Church are not the same. Bossuet has written the history of the variations of the Protestant Churches. It would be possible to write a history of the variations of the Popes. At the further extreme of Protestantism, with its changes and uncertainties, Catholic controversialists have pointed out to logical minds the gulf of scepticism. Not less devouring, not less inexorable, it yawns at the logical terminus of the other subjectivism —that of Rome. In one case as in the other, I know

but one means of escaping it without leaving the system that leads to it ; and that means is blind in duty. *Stet pro ratione voluntas.*

The hidden conflict which has been going on for so many centuries between the Catholic principle and the Infallibilist principle is nearing its end, at last. You remember how the patriarch's wife bore within her womb the struggling and contentious twins. So has it been with the Catholic Church ; and to her groans, as to the groans of the daughter of Bethuel, we might have made answer—"Two nations are in thy womb ; the time shall come that they shall be separated, and the stronger shall be subject to the weaker."[1]

July 18, 1870. Fatal and yet auspicious date ! It marks the enfranchisement of the Church's faith, too long held captive and oppressed under the personal teaching of the Popes. Till then, the two positions were not clear and definite. Alike restrained by fear of consequences, the Ultramontanes were not prepared to go to the full length of their claims, nor the Gallicans to the full length of their resistance. Now, compromise has become impossible ; reticence and misunderstanding have come to an end. We are compelled to make our choice between the faith of the Pope and the faith of the Church.

Well, then, my choice is made. Suffer me to say, in

[1] Genesis xxv. 23.

the words of one of the most learned Catholics of Germany: "If the Pope and all the hierarchy become heretical, the Church does not go with the Pope and the bishops. It remains with the faith." [1]

II.

The Ancient Primacy and the Modern Papacy.

The great mistake, I will not say the crime, of those bishops who were once in opposition but have now submitted, has been that of sacrificing truth to unity.

Are we about to rush to the opposite extreme, and sacrifice unity to truth? But what a question is this? Is it to be presumed that these two things, equally necessary to the soul, are to be found mutually incompatible and destructive in the Church founded by Him who is at once the supreme Truth and the supreme Unity? God be thanked that we are not condemned to any such fatal antagonism! The true unity is that which is founded upon the truth, as the complete and effectual truth is that which is centred in unity.

As the atoning sacrifice of the cross drew near, on the evening of the first eucharistic supper, at that divine and fraternal feast at which was sealed the compact of the new covenant, the Saviour lifted up to His Father this great prayer, "That they may be one, even as we

[1] Speech of Professor Maassen before the University of Vienna.

are one; that they may be made perfect in one, that the world may know that Thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as Thou hast loved me."[1]

This prayer is what established the unity of the Church—established it in that very bond in which the Father and the Son are One, I mean in the Holy Spirit. After what manner is it that in the mystery of the divine substance, the unity of the Father and the Son are made "perfect in one"? In that they are united with one and the same mutual love, which is the Holy Spirit. After what manner, in the recesses of sanctified souls, is the Church "made perfect in one"? In that they have one faith and one hope, in one love—that they receive the same breath of inspiration from on high, and taste the same joy of the life of God communicated to man. "The love of God has been shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given to us."[2] Therefore it was that "the multitude of the believers were of one heart and one soul." Such was their unity, in the exuberance of their early fervour, that it carried them to the point of making common property of their goods. "None of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common."[3]

The unity of the Church is, then, primarily an inward unity, of which the Holy Spirit is the author. But the

[1] John xvii. 22, 23. [2] Romans v. 5. [3] Acts iv. 32.

Church, like mankind, out of whom it is constituted, is a body as well as a soul. It has need, therefore, of an outward organism, such as may be at once the expression and the defence of its unity of love. This organism is the priesthood, the fulness of which resides in the episcopate. The episcopate was instituted by Jesus Christ and confirmed by the apostles, whose mission it takes up and carries forward. But it answered to so deep-seated a want of the Christian community that even if it had not been given from above it would have had to be created from within. This, in fact, is what may be seen taking place within those primitive communities that have received the fulness of the Holy Ghost, often with outward signs, and that are, as we may say, intoxicated with this new life. The dominating sentiment among them is that of unity in love, "*that they may be made perfect in one.*" They feel themselves irresistibly drawn together, soul to soul, and as if impelled by the action of some unknown force, they look for some outward and visible representative, who shall be at the same time a guardian of that life of paradise which they have within them. This symbol of the Church's love and guardian of the Church's unity is the bishop. The election of the Christian people designates the worthiest in their own ranks. The apostle of Jesus Christ, or if none be present a bishop acting in his name, gives to the elect the heavenly consecration and commission.

The Church exists in its normal form—*Plebs adunata sacerdoti.*

But a particular community is not the universal community. There are churches, and there is The Church. That which has just taken place among the various members of a local church, now takes place among the various churches which constitute the Church universal. They look upon each other across intervening space—what power has matter to put asunder spirit?—they recognize each other as sisters, they feel that it is but one blood of the soul that circulates in all their veins and stirs the pulses of their hearts, and that they all are but one Church—the great Church of God and of humanity. And here again is demanded an outward and visible institution to answer to this inward craving. The outward embodiment of love for the universal Church, and, if I may be allowed so bold an expression, the substantial and living impersonation of the whole of Catholic humanity, is the Primate—the Pope. "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Lovest thou me more than all these others?—Yea, Master, thou knowest that I love thee.—Feed thou my sheep; feed my lambs."[1] Be thou supreme shepherd of the boundless flock. This is the origin of the Papacy.[2]

[1] John xxi. 15—17.

[2] The Primacy of St. Peter is certainly of divine origin, and like everything pertaining to the constitution of the Church, was intended to survive the age of the apostles. But the fixing of the Primacy at a certain see

It is impossible to say anything too great of this salutary and necessary institution, so long as its nature is not changed, and a *royalty* made to take the place of a *ministry*. In the person of Peter the unity of the Church finds its sensible image and its effective instrument. Instead of an abstract idea (for such, in a certain sense, it originally was), it becomes a living reality. Unity speaks by this mouth, acts by this hand; but only on this condition, that Peter shall continue to be the humble and faithful organ of the Church. It was not a solitary man, says St. Augustine, it was the united Church to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given. "*Claves non unus homo, sed unitas accepit Ecclesiæ.*"[1] Peter personified the universal Church. "*Figuratâ generalitate gestabat personam Ecclesiæ.*"

Nothing is more expressly condemned by the Gospel than the lifting up of one above the rest. When the apostles, full of the Judaic notions which have long survived them, were disputing among themselves about the primacy, the divine Master said to them, "Ye know that the princes of the nations exercise dominion over them; but it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be greatest among you let him be your minister,

could be nothing but an ecclesiastical institution. Before it ever was at Rome, the central church was at Jerusalem, and the great Cardinal Nicholas da Cusa did not fear to teach at Rome itself, in the midst of the fifteenth century, that the Primacy could be transferred from the Bishop of Rome to the Bishop of Trèves.

[1] Sermon 195.

and whosoever will be chief among you let him be your slave."[1] Doubtless the Church is a kingdom—*regnum Dei*—but it has but one king, Jesus Christ. Peter is only the president of the college of apostles, as after him the Primate—the Pope—should be only the president of the college of bishops, whether assembled in council or dispersed over the globe. Peter has the right to speak and act in the name of the college of apostles, but he possesses no other apostolate than theirs; he exercises over his colleagues no other authority than this presidency. He appears in the second rank when circumstances require, as at the Council of Jerusalem, which was presided over by James, the apostle resident in the holy city. In common with John he receives a commission from the body of the apostles: "When the apostles heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, they sent to them Peter and John."[2] What would be said nowadays of an assembly of bishops who should venture to send the Pope on a mission with one of themselves? And what would be said of a bishop who should rebuke the Pope in public, as Paul, the latest of all the apostles—the *abortion* (born out of due time), as he styled himself—boldly took Peter to task at Antioch? "I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed."[3]

As I pointed out in the first place the vital, radical,

[1] Matthew xx. 25. [2] Acts viii. 14. [3] Galatians ii. 11 *et seq.*

irreconcilable difference between the Catholic and the Infallibilist rule of faith, I have now laid my finger on the difference, not less vital, not less radical, not less irreconcilable, between the Catholic and the Ultramontane constitution of the Church; between the Primacy of Peter, as it appears to us in the light of the Gospel, and the Papacy of Gregory VII., as it emerges from the darkness and violence of the Middle Ages. The Primacy is unity in love, the Papacy is servitude under domination! These are two opposite conceptions—the worldly idea, the pagan or Judaic idea on the one hand, and the Christian idea on the other.

The Primate, as the name itself indicates, is only the first of the bishops—*primus inter pares.* The Pope, as he has been made by the forged Decretals and the Vatican Councils, is in fact the sole bishop—the bishop of the Catholic Church, as he signs himself—*Episcopus Ecclesiæ catholicæ.* "Universal bishop!" cried Pope St. Gregory the Great, "God forbid that that blasphemous title—*nomen istud blasphemiæ*—should ever enter into a Christian's mind! He who should usurp it would rob all other pontiffs of their dignity!"

The mischief is done. The successor of St. Gregory the Great has usurped "that name of blasphemy," the other pontiffs standing by with applause, or at least with silence. But, for this mischief what is the remedy? Not where it is sought for by the Protestants, in the de-

struction of the Primacy itself. Luther has fallen into the same mistake with Loyola, both for lack of learning and moderation, one in the ardour of his hatred, the other in the transports of his affection,—both have confounded the excesses of the Papacy with the very institution of the Primacy. One has attacked everything; the other has defended everything. It is for us to seek some wholly different way. We must make distinctions in theory, in order that we may thus come to distinguish in the reality of facts between these two mingled but contradictory elements—the ancient Primacy and the modern Papacy.

How is this to be done? The secret lies with God. It is possible for him to raise up a great Pope, great in courage as well as genius, who shall confess openly, before God and man, the sins and errors of the Papacy, and restore in its gentle and mighty completeness the Primacy of the early ages. "*Et tu aliquando conversus.*" [1] Or, on the other hand, the Church, rallying its energies in the excess of its woes, flinging off "the bridle in its jaws causing it to err," [2]—the Church will protest against the oppression imposed upon it in the name of God. It will undertake this "Reform in Head and Members," which it has always asked, but always asked in vain. At the Council of Constance it deposed

[1] "Thou (Peter), when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." —Luke xxii. 32.

[2] Isaiah xxx. 28.

three Popes; it surely will not be incompetent to depose one!

I believe that I have proved, clearly and irrefragably, that both with respect to the constitution of the Church and with respect to the rule of faith, it is we who represent the Catholic principle. I do not say that we alone are Catholics, for we do not answer anathema by anathema, and our only reply to those who are trying to drive us out of the Church is to stay in the Church with them. I simply say that we are the only Catholics who are faithful to the methods and traditions of the Church—the only logical and consistent Catholics.

"But" (so we are told) "you are but a handful of men, in face of the acclamations, or at least the submissions, of all this multitude."

In that "upper chamber," which was the cradle of the Christian Church at Jerusalem, there were but a hundred and twenty men, and these under the ban of the priests and rulers of the day, and excommunicated from the synagogue. But the future was with them, for with them was He who said "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."[1]

Let us be there with the six-score men! Let us be of the little flock to whom the Father hath promised the victory and the kingdom.[2]

What do I say? Were there but one alone—for

[1] Matthew xxviii. 20. [2] Luke xii. 32.

God's ways are not as our ways, and there are moments when the salvation of the world turns on the faithfulness of a single conscience—were there but one alone, it would be his to say, and say again—I am not afraid, the truth will conquer!

THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE FAMILY.[1]

"*Volo autem vos scire quod omnis viri caput Christus est; caput autem mulieris, vir; caput vero Christi, Deus.*"

"But I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God."—1 Corinthians xi. 3.

What I have to say to you will be nothing more than a commentary on this profound text. For this reason I place it at the beginning of this discourse.[2]

The Church of the Patriarchs was not buried with them in the cave of Mamre. It survived them; it survived itself in the strongly-marked organization of the Jewish family under the law of Moses, in the stronger and purer constitution of the Christian family under the grace of Jesus Christ. It is not in vain that Jehovah said: "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac,

[1] The subject of this discourse, given at Munich in 1871, had already been treated, with slight variations, at Notre Dame de Paris in 1868. The report here given is from the short-hand notes taken down at that time. I find nothing to alter now in what I said then.

[2] In *conferences*, as distinguished from sermons, it is not usual, in the Catholic pulpit, to speak from a particular text.

and of Jacob; *this is my name for ever.*" *Hoc est nomen meum in æternum.*[1]

This is why we do not so easily quit this Church of the Fathers, and often having followed it[2] under the tents where it has so long wandered, we sit down with it now by the settled fireside of the Christian family.

The Supreme Artist does not destroy the studies, by which, so to speak, He tries his powers, preparatory to His great work. He takes them up, one by one, and works them into the composition of His final masterpiece, harmonising and subordinating them in a marvellous unity. This masterpiece is the Catholic Church—that is to say, religious society realized in its most spiritual and comprehensive form, superior to all the bonds of flesh and blood, transcending all divisions of race and language. But, far from excluding the two lower forms of religion which have preceded it, the Catholic Church includes within its vast sphere—extending them to all families and to all nations—the Family Church of the Patriarchs and the National Church of the Hebrews, as it is written:—"All kindreds and nations shall come and worship before Thee."

I have spoken a great deal of the Family, but I have not said enough. Above all, I have not sufficiently

[1] Exodus iii. 15

[2] In the series of conferences on the Church, in which this was originally pronounced.

considered it in its directly religious aspect, inasmuch as it is a religious society, a Church, and the first of all Churches—that which I have named (borrowing a phrase from St. Paul) "the church in the house"—the domestic Church. It is from this supremely important point of view that I consider it to-day; and as the formative element of a Church is in its priesthood, I shall demonstrate successively the reality of the family priesthood and the nature of its relation with the priesthood of the Church at large. The conclusion that I shall draw will be a practical one. Neither you nor I have come hither, my friends, for feats of rhetoric. I am not capable of them, and you would not be satisfied with them. You are not here to inspire nor I to compose an oration or an essay; we have other business in hand for such a time as this. When families and empires are crumbling, when the Church is shaken on its foundations, it is no time for fine words, but for facts. And the fact which we would accomplish is the restoration of the family priesthood where it is fallen, and its reconciliation with the Catholic priesthood, where they have been at variance.

I.

I declare, then, that there is indeed such a thing as a priesthood of the family, and, in a still more general sense, a priesthood of the laity. I am not

ignorant of the abuse that has been made of the word and the thing, but I hold fast to the tradition of my fathers when I maintain that by his baptism every Christian is made indeed a priest. A drop of that unction which was poured upon the Christ has fallen upon us. Like Him, and through Him, we too have been made priests and kings. "Ye are a chosen generation—a royal priesthood;"[1] so St. Peter to all the faithful without distinction. The most ancient of the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, to name no more, have shown the reality of this priesthood. The Greek Church, separated from us, but faithful to the same teachings, recognizes in its profession of faith the coexistence of the two priesthoods—the *spiritual* or *mystical* priesthood, appertaining to all Christians; and the *sacramental,* reserved to the ministers of the Word and of worship. In almost the same terms, and in quite the same sense, the Council of Trent, in view of the innovations of the sixteenth century, maintained the traditional distinction between the *internal* and the *external* priesthood. The error of the Protestants lay not, in fact, in affirming the universal priesthood of Christians, but in denying the ministerial priesthood of the clergy.

The priesthood of the Christian is in its nature individual, but it becomes social by the sacraments of

[1] 1 Peter ii. 9.

marriage and of orders ; by the first of which the exercise of it is extended to the family, and by the second to the Church. The father and the priest—these are the two pontiffs of Christian society—one according to the order of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob ; the other according to the order of Melchizedek—both according to the order and the grace of Jesus Christ.

Doubtless the husband and wife are invested in common with the priesthood of the family in the sacrament of marriage:—"Neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man, in the Lord," saith St. Paul.[1] They are themselves the ministers of this sacrament, and nought is needed but the power of their own mutual agreement to constitute and bless its sacred bond. But the fulness of this priesthood resides especially in the husband and father. "The head of the woman is the man, as the head of man is Christ." "The man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man."[2]

If you will follow me in the rapid examination of the three principal functions of the priesthood, you will find them alike in the sanctuary of the family and of the Church. The power of religious teaching, of the direction of the conscience, and of the ministration of worship—such is the threefold power of the Catholic priest, such the threefold power of the household priest.

[1] 1 Corinthians xi. 11. [2] 1 Corinthians xi. 3, 9.

First we will consider the power of Religious Teaching.

I have formerly had occasion to observe that the power possessed by the father of the family for moral and religious teaching has its roots outside of Christianity, in the very fact of fatherhood. But when fatherhood is lifted up by baptism and Christian marriage to the grandeur and majesty of the supernatural order, it acquires a new title to teach—a title more immediately divine. The father receives from God and His Holy Spirit commission to expound to his children not only the morality and religion graven by Nature on all honest hearts, but those which have been brought down from heaven by Jesus Christ.

The father's authority is subordinate, I know, and am not afraid to proclaim, to the authority of the Church and its constituted priesthood; but it is not to be weakened nor over-sloughed by them. Not the priest, not even the mother, but the father is the principal religious educator of his children. Ah, I have not forgotten what I have myself said of the great mission of the mother; how, in the living cradle of her arms and caresses, under the heavenly glory of her looks and smiles, she is the first that names to her child the name of God, the God of love and purity. This is the milk of her pious tenderness that she pours into the lips of its soul as into its bodily lips she yields the milk of her

pure bosom. But watch well, O father: the time has now come for you! The child has left his mother's knee; he stands erect beside you. And it is for you to break to him the bread of life and understanding, and give him the water, colder, but not less wholesome, of your reason—*cibabit illum pane vitæ et intellectûs, et aquâ sapientiæ salutaris potabit illum.*[1] But this is not all. If we would be faithful to the spirit of Christian tradition, we must recognize that the mother and wife shares with her children the father's wholesome teaching in the Christian home. This I learn from St. Paul; and who would dispute the authority of the apostle of the Gentiles? St. Paul utters these stern words:—"Let the women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted them to speak, but to be subject, as also saith the law." But if they have not understood what the minister has said, what must they do? Will you leave them in their ignorance, O great apostle? or will you refer them to the bishop, or to the particular pastors? No, he answers. "Let them ask their husbands at home"—*domi viros suos interrogent.*[2] If they have not understood in the public sanctuary, let them ask in the private sanctuary; if they have not understood the minister who speaks to all, let them ask of the minister who speaks only to them, listening in silence

[1] Ecclesiasticus xv. 3.
[2] 1 Corinthians xiv. 34, 35.

and with submission—*mulier in silentio discat cum omni subjectione.*[1]

It is as much as to say that all outward teaching, however authoritative, has need of an interpreter. What more authoritative than the Bible—the words directly inspired of God in prophets and apostles? And yet with all its clearness, its beauty, and its richness, the Bible calls for an interpreter, and that interpreter is the Church. But the Church, like the Bible, is an external and general authority; it formulates its interpretations in human language, subject to the uncertainties of language, and liable to the discussions of man.

And here let me say, in passing, that nothing can be more vain than that hope of chimerical minds who would seek, by pushing the doctrinal teachings of the Church to extreme limits, to bring about in Christianity a sort of vulgar preciseness, a kind of tyrannical uniformity that never were contemplated in the divine plans.

By reason, then, of the multitude of its teachings, varying with the ages, sometimes seemingly contradictory, like the circumstances which gave them birth, the Church itself has need of interpreters. It is the theologian in his book or in his school, the bishop in his diocese, the pastor in his city or village pulpit. But these interpreters themselves speak in far too general a

[1] 1 Timothy ii. 11.

way. They need, in their turn, to be explained in the privacy of each home by the father of the family. Doubtless he is no more at liberty to change the teaching of the Church than the Church is to change the teaching of the Bible. He has only the right and the duty to comment upon it. But it belongs to him to explain the true meaning of Christian doctrines to his children and his wife, and to apply them to the state of mind and the special wants of each soul confided to his care and direction. If they have not understood in the public temple, let them "ask at home and learn in silence."

This, then, is the function, so wide and so legitimate, that the Church has always assigned to true lay teaching—not that noisy and passionate teaching that tries to make itself heard in a higher tone and a different sense from the Church, but the humble, wise, practical teaching which repeats at the fireside the echo of the temple.

I turn to the subject of *the Direction of the Conscience* This is a matter which belongs to the Church and to the priesthood in which the authority of the Church is embodied. But let us not be exclusive. Since the world of nature is so rich in laws which seem contradictory, but are in reality harmonious, let us not refuse to admit diversity and harmony in the supernatural world, that is, in Christianity. Over against the direction of the conscience by the priest is the direction of the

conscience by the head of the family. To question this is to lose sight of the very nature of education. The education of man is not like the training of the animal; it does not stop with the outward act, but enters deep within, to the very conscience; it reaches to the thought and desire, rectifies the intention, and forms the conviction. Thus it is that the parents, and especially the father, in the sense in which I have already explained it, are the first religious and moral teachers—the first confessors of their children.

I go further, in a sense certainly much narrower, but still in a real and important sense. I subject the conscience of the wife to that of her husband. Nay, I am wrong. It is not I that subject her—it is nature on one hand and grace on the other that have done this before me. Nature, by the age of the wife—her ordinary age at the time of her marriage—also by her sex, makes her the daughter of the man as well as wife. The old biblical history is not a fable but a type: in the ecstasy of love and pain Eve came forth from the torn side of Adam, and it is because she is bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, that he recognizes in her his companion, and that he finds in her the completion of his life. And I say to you men who listen to me, that young girl who, from the arms of her mother, is given over into yours without knowledge of the world, without experience of life, and, I might add, without consciousness of herself,

it devolves on you to make a woman of her—what the Scripture calls "the virtuous woman."[1] There be few virtuous women nowadays of the style described by Solomon. Is it not because there are few virtuous men to form and train them? Your breast may not be riven like that of Adam, but let your heart be torn, if need be, in striving against the hindrances which she puts in the way of that higher education which it is for you to bestow upon her. Without dwarfing her own personality, impress upon it the stamp of your own. First let her become the child of your own conscience, in order that so she may be the companion of your life and the mother of your children!

Such is the law of nature. Such, too, is the grace of Christianity. St. Paul—whom I always quote, because he has truly written the law of Christian marriage—St. Paul tells us that the wife should be subject in all things to the husband as the Church is subject to Christ, and if in ordinary matters much more in the affairs of morality and religion.[2] This is the reason why the Catholic theology teaches, through its weightiest exponents, that the spiritual authority of the husband extends even to dispensation from vows. Most certainly he cannot do this without reasons. There is no more right to arbitrary power in the husband than in the priest or bishop. But he is himself the judge of his

[1] Proverbs xxxi. 10. [2] Ephesians v. 24.

reasons, and can, of his own authority, without recourse to priest or bishop, dispense his wife from all vows she has made without his consent since their marriage. What is more sacred than a vow? What more solemn than the promise of a living soul to the living God? And must there not be a real priesthood to dare come in between such contracting parties?

It is this same priesthood that presides in the worship of the family. Speaking of individual worship, Jesus Christ says to each of us, "When ye pray, be not as the hypocrites, that love to stand and pray in the synagogues and corners of the streets; but thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father who seeth in secret."[1] This is perhaps the sweetest, the most comforting of all prayers.

And yet it is not enough. From the beginning of Christianity, St. Paul exhorted the faithful to assemble to sing spiritual songs together and to partake with each other the Lord's Supper. Midway between the individual worship in the secret chamber and public worship in the grand basilica comes *Family Worship.* When the close of day is come, each one returns to the home more or less wearied with the burden of the heart. The cares and duties of the day have left their dregs at the bottom of the cup—often bitter, sometimes sweet, but always hard to bear—

[1] Matthew vi. 5, 6.

and we yearn to pour them out in prayer as a libation before God. The evening star is lighted up as it were a mystic lamp. The firmament of the day gives place to the firmament of night, more divine because it is more profound, more transparent—and because behind the splendour of the stars we may the better discern Him whose light is darkness and whose darkness light. Then it is, before they retire to the repose of the night, that the father of the family bares his reverend head. He kneels: and, oh, how grand, how royal, he is upon his knees! Beside him is the mother, and about them the children like the young shoots of the fruitful olive of which the Psalmist sings; then in the second circle the domestics; neither slaves nor mere hirelings, but the complement of the Christian family. "*Our Father who art in heaven*"—so speaks, in the name of all, the father who is on earth. The alliance—I had almost said the kindred—between these two fatherhoods is manifested in its august and loving mystery:—in that family, the kingdom of God is realized, and His will is done on earth as it is in heaven! Give ear to them, O Lord! Father, that seest in secret, grant them each day the bread of the body that springeth from the earth, and the bread of the soul that cometh down from Heaven. Forgive them their offences as they forgive to each other those by which they have been injured—the husband to the wife, the wife to the husband, the

parents to the children, and sometimes, too, the children to the parents—each to all, all to each. And the voices of the little innocents respond *Amen!* And in the depths of the world unseen another chorus responds *Amen!*

There is another prayer which I may not omit altogether to mention: it is that prayer which goes directly up from the soul to God, without passing by the lips, which sometimes unites the entire family under its holy spell, but is oftener the privilege of the Christian husband and wife. I speak of mental prayer.

Do you remember, my friends, that page in the *Confessions of St. Augustine*, that page more beautiful than all the rest? It was not husband and wife indeed, but mother and son: it matters little what they were—they were two souls wedded in tenderness and in purity. Some days before the death of Monica, Augustine was with her at Ostia. They stood together, leaning against the window, looking out at the sky, the sea, the Campagna—that Roman landscape so melancholy yet so beautiful, and so suggestive of the infinite! They were lifted up in silent prayer—for they spoke not, or at least but little—they were lifted up to things invisible, to ideas, to moral sentiments, to the eternal types of the true and the beautiful, to that Soul which is the abode of all these great things, to God the Original and End of all. There came a moment when they attained to

God himself—*ictu oculi, ictu cordis*, says the admirable saint, "with one outstroke of the intellect and heart," like those barques which strike the shore before they are able to land ; so they, at last, had struck the shore of the Infinite! It was a moment fleeting as Time, but full as Eternity!

That which happened to Monica and Augustine is but the history of mental prayer in the Christian family. It is the history of religious love between husband and wife, the truest, the most lasting and sweetest of all loves.

Yes: when husband and wife have made common property not only of their hearts but also of their consciences and their understandings—and I cannot conceive of marriage without this community—when this wife, who thinks with her husband, when this husband, who feels with his wife, read together the masterpieces of human genius—as Plato, Dante, Shakespeare ; or far above these, the masterpieces of Divine inspiration—Moses and the Evangelists ; when they gaze on the scenes of Nature, now grand, now beautiful ; when they experience together those vicissitudes of family life that group themselves about the three great centres—birth, love, death ; like the ancient statue in the desert that answered back with an harmonious murmur the sun's earliest beams, their soul responds to the beams of Nature, art, home, revealed faith, celestial love—beams all divine, since emanating all from God.

The souls of the twain are fused and mingled in one prayer; and of this voiceless prayer—this love which is prayer, this prayer which is love—the husband, the head of the wife, is the ministering priest.

Ah! that man has never known what it is to love—he has talked of love, he has not understood it—who has not known these hidden things of God in love and love in God. In these hours we feel God, we gaze on Him, we at least have some glimpse of Him, and, brushing away the tear, we exclaim, "It is enough, Lord,—enough for this earth!"

In such moments the ancient curse is suspended; as it were, the keenest of life's sorrows has ceased, and those two flowers, united of old in Eden, but separated ever since, have mingled their beauty and their perfume on the stem of human life, the flower of love and the flower of purity! Chaste consorts! wedded in virginal purity! God is in their love, and their love is in God.

So, then, the father of the family is priest, as teacher of the household, as director of their conscience and will; as praying in the midst of his own with his lips, and with his heart and soul in their soul and heart.

Such is the priesthood of the family. "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob;" the God of Sarah, of Rebekah, and of Rachel. And "this is my name for ever!"

II.

Speaking as I do of the priesthood of the household, and its harmony with that of the Church, I hear a voice from beyond the circle that I address—a voice borne to me by all the echoes of the present age; a cry sometimes of lamentation and sometimes of denunciation, sometimes hypocritical, but often too indignantly earnest not to be sincere. I listen to it with the respectful attention that is due to every deep utterance of human feeling, and I beg of you to listen with me for a moment.

"What!" cries this voice, "and so it is you, Catholic priest, who establish in the name of Christ and His apostle, in the name of the Gospel and of the Church, the moral and religious authority of the husband over the wife, of the father over the children! You! You are the last person to speak of these great and sublime things, for it is you who, by means of the confessional, have destroyed them. Ah! yes: the fellowship of conscience, the strong and sweet fusion of two souls, two lives, into one, 'the communion of things divine and human' (to borrow a phrase of pagan wisdom)—yes, it was the ideal of the Christian family, and even of the mere human family; but it is you, miserable man, who have disregarded, profaned, ruined this ideal! And

now, in your satisfied ambition, or in your triumphant fanaticism—destroyer of the family, creator of domestic anarchy, despiser of fatherhood, you have no right left you but the right to hold your peace, as the bird of prey, glutted with blood in his eyrie, gazes dumb upon the quivering members that he has torn and defiled!"

"You come home" (I quote the language of one of these writers—a thoughtful, aggrieved mind, full of indignation and at the same time of tenderness)—"you come home at evening longing for a free mutual outpouring of the soul, and you are allowed to speak only of the news of the day and other indifferent subjects; if you would touch upon matters that concern the soul, your mother shakes her head, your daughter remains silent or disapproves, your wife contradicts you. They are on one side the family table, you alone on the other, and one might well say that between them and you there is an invisible being making war between you." . . . And he concludes—"Young man, mark well my words; to marry a woman whose soul is in the keeping of another—is to marry divorce!" [1]

This is the objection to my doctrine stated to you in all fairness and in its fullest force.

Now, it is evident that if no answer could be given to this objection, there would be but one course left me—to leave this pulpit; or, rather, to remain here

[1] "The Priest, the Wife, and the Family," by M. Michelet.

and say, "I was mistaken! I have hitherto believed sincerely in the divine mission of the Catholic priest, and in the salutary effect of that sacrament of confession which I myself have administered to the faithful for twenty years; but I was mistaken! A dishonest ministry cannot be of God."

But, as I am certain there is an answer to this objection, I shall endeavour to find it, and to show at the same time—for that is my theme—the normal relations which should exist between the priesthood of the husband and father and that of the Catholic priest. The first thing is to examine whether the alleged fact upon which the objection rests, is real. Is it really true that the spiritual government of the family has been taken away from the hands of the father; and has it passed wholly or mainly into the hands of the priest?

I confess that it is true. Thank God, there are exceptions, important in number and more important still in quality; but as a general rule, particularly in the towns and among the cultivated classes, two tendencies have been observed bearing a startling proportion to each other—the diminution of the authority of the father and the aggrandizement of that of the priest. I am speaking obviously only of those families who have preserved the Catholic faith. Among those who have lost that faith, the paternal authority, when it has disappeared, has not been replaced. On one

side anarchy, on the other dictatorship—nowhere legitimate authority.

The fact, then, exists; but what is the cause of it? Here is the heart of the difficulty, on which we must manage to get some light before we separate. One of two things must be true: either we have usurped, or you have abdicated. In such an important case there is certainly a guilty party, that ought to be convicted at any cost. Which is it? You, or we?

Is it we then, we ask first, that have usurped the authority of the family? If the question was on particular facts showing a lack of wisdom or integrity on the part of individual priests of the Catholic Church, I should not hesitate to acknowledge that in more than one instance we have usurped. Let us have done with all dishonest apology and all false history for the Church, both for the present and for the past; let us not take up, on our side of the question, the exploded tactics of the school of Voltaire—"Keep on lying; some of it will stick." Falsehood is never so odious and so fatal as when it pretends to be used in the service of the truth. It is infinitely better for the Church to be attacked by falsehood than to be defended by it. Let us acknowledge it boldly, that at all times, in the past as in the present, laymen, priests, and pontiffs, we are all fallible and peccable. Christ alone is holy, *tu solus sanctus;* and the Church, taken

in its universality as a divine institution,—I believe in as a holy Church :—*Credo sanctam ecclesiam.* But each one of us, in our person and in our acts, when we measure ourselves by the divine idea, when we take the Christian institution as it actually is—we are full of ignorance and infirmity, full sometimes even of error and crime.

But the question is not of individual abuses, it relates to a condition of things which threatens to become general, and which is alleged to be the direct consequence of the intervention of the priest in the family, especially by means of the confessional. On this ground I aver that the intervention of the priest in the family is not an intrusion, and his office in the confessional is not an usurpation. Considered as institutions, the priesthood and the confessional are not at fault.

We have not usurped, but we have faithfully fulfilled our commission. Jesus Christ has commanded us, in the person of the apostle, to go and preach the Gospel to every creature. He has overthrown beneath our feet the ancient barriers of family and nation ; and for us, as for St. Paul, there exists neither Greek nor Barbarian, master nor slave, male nor female, but one humanity in Jesus Christ. He breathed upon us in that upper chamber, saying to us, " Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are

forgiven them, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained."[1]

What astounding words! Yet they are the words of Jesus Christ! And, with awestruck yet joyful hearts, we have obeyed them; and we have repeated down through all the Christian centuries: "I believe in the remission of sins." If this is our crime, dare you condemn us?

But you fathers, priests of the household, you cannot realize in all its fulness and efficacy the remission of sins. You can forgive in the name of the family and by virtue of your fatherly authority, but not in the name of the great Christian family and by direct commission from Christ. We come, then, to aid you, to supply your lack. After having preached the Gospel in the publicity of the congregation, we repeat it in the secrecy of the conscience. We have prepared by our exhortations the interior conditions of pardon—humility, repentance, trust; trust unbounded, not in man's acts which are nought, but in God's mercy and Christ's blood which are all-sufficient. Slowly but surely the call from on high lifts up the sinner; we pray with him, and when the solemn moment comes we call to mind that the "Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins;" and in His name, in the name of His Church, we tender that absolution which signifies

[1] St. John xx. 22, 23.

and at the same time effects, the release of the soul.

This is what we have done, and we have well done!

And to do this, we have given ear to confessions that could never have been made to you. Let me say to you, that there are confessions which should be made to the husband and father; and there are those which it is neither wise nor right, nor even possible, to confide to him. There are confessions which, instead of reconciling, would alienate for ever, which would raise up mountains and open gulfs of separation between the foolish soul that should utter them and the foolish soul that should listen to them. In the sanctity, in the austerity, in the majesty of the sacrament, we, sinners like you, but ministers of Christ, hear these fearful secrets confided to us by penitent souls, not only because God prescribes it as a duty, but because their nature imposes it as a necessity. We have listened through their tears and groanings, but we have not spoken, and we have saved where you would have lost.

This is what we have done, and we have well done!

We have not usurped!

But you, why have you abdicated? Why is it, that while we are bending under the load of a ministry all too heavy for us to bear, you have discharged your own

burden upon us? Why do you force upon us the most formidable accumulation of duties and responsibilities? Forgetting what we are by office, the public hierarchic priests of all the families, why will you make of us what we cannot be, the household priests of your wife and your children? Herein lies the most vital, perhaps, of all the mischiefs that infest the family and society—in what I do not hesitate to call the madness and crime of your abdication!

Yes: you have abdicated; for you have renounced the practice of Christianity. Is there anything remaining in your home of religious teaching or family worship? At evening, when they meet for prayer, is not your place vacant, or at least your voice silent? Is it not your wife that ministers in that desolate sanctuary, as if before God she were already a widow and your children orphans? Does she not appear alone with the younger children in the house of God, and sit down, deserted by you and the elder children, at the table of the Lord, at that divine repast which divides those whom it should unite?

But it is worse than this, O husbands! O fathers! for in abandoning prayer you have too often forsaken the faith of the Gospel. You have ceased to believe in Jesus Christ, Son of God and Saviour of the world. To you, He is a myth in the remote perspective of history, or at best a mere man. But when at Christmas-tide all

the little fireside Churches are keeping holiday; when beside the manger-cradle[1] the children and the women are giving thanks, with sweet carols and happy tears "that unto us a Child is born," as it was foretold so many ages before by the great prophet of Judea;[2] you stand aloof and alone, asking coldly and sadly what is that strange law, half psychologic, half physiologic, which makes such joys possible and such myths necessary to more than half the human race!

But, why do I speak of Christ, when it is of God himself that you doubt! The God of Abraham and Moses, the personal and living God, you have ceased to worship; you have supplanted Him, by some sort of vague, cold, dead abstraction! And why speak of the doctrines of the Gospel, when you have forsaken even its precepts? With other beliefs you have contrived another code of morals, which, in the innocence of their tender age, the children do not perceive, but which the wife suspects and, perhaps, is obliged to suffer. And it is you—you, that are complaining that you are no longer the pontiffs of your own families!

Alarmed by the absence of examples and teachings which you no longer give; more alarmed still, perhaps, at those which you do give, powerless to struggle alone against your criminal neglect and against your yet

[1] It is usual on Christmas, in Catholic churches, to exhibit the infant Saviour in the manger, in memory of His birth. [2] Isaiah ix. 6.

more criminal action, your wife has taken a heroic resolution: she seizes her children's cradle in her trembling arms; in it beside her little ones she has placed her soul, her conscience, and from the profaned sanctuary of your roof she has gone forth to bear these sad and cherished treasures to the foot of our altars, and adjures the minister of Jesus Christ to guide her and save her children.

Ah, you thought to drive God from your house, but you have driven thence your wife and your children, and have walled yourself up in your own independence and own domain; and "behold, your house is left unto you desolate." The souls have gone forth from it, and there is left you nought but the bodies. Or if they return, it is to bring back with them, and against you, the priest, who henceforth is the controlling power!

There must be in every family a door open for religion, and among civilized people who know what they believe, and who "know what they worship," this door is open to Christianity and to its ministers. Should the Catholic priest not be there, let the Protestant pastor, that other representative of the Gospel, come in by this door, and restore to the domestic hearth that religious influence which the infidel or indifferent father has failed to exercise. This door, or rather these two doors, are the education of the children and conscience of the wife.

The nature of woman is essentially religious, in proportion as it is essentially a loving and essentially a suffering nature; and anyone who has meditated upon moral subjects knows what near relation love and suffering have with the living God. When, like Hagar, she sits alone in the desert of her soul, and beside her well of tears, the woman speaks heart to heart with God as the man has never done. She sees Him through her tears, and through her sobbing she calls the name of the Lord that speaks to her—*Thou God seest me.*[1]

But, with all this power of reaching God, by the intuition of the heart more directly and profoundly than by mental reasoning, she has this weakness, that she cannot long remain alone in her religion. She feels the need of man's society and man's influence. And nowhere so much as here does she aspire naturally toward that head in which God ordained that she should be complete. Man is the head of the woman, as Christ himself is the head of the man. The mother's religion would often degenerate into superstition or dreamy sentiment, it would fail to satisfy her own wants, still less her children's, but for some other influence, descending, as it were, from the head of the man upon the heart of the woman.

Oh, fathers, husbands, this was to have been your mission. But you have abdicated it, to your own

[1] Genesis xvi. 13.

sorrow and to ours, and, above all, to the sorrow of domestic society and of the Church.

You have abdicated—we have not usurped. But for all that, Christian marriage is destroyed. The priest possesses the soul—the husband keeps only the body!

III.

Is there then no remedy? O God of our Salvation! wilt Thou not revisit Thy people? and wilt Thou not rebuild our ruins?

It depends upon you, O fathers, to prepare this future for the whole world. It depends upon you to realize it under your own roof. Have wisdom to resolve upon it; know how to be in the full sense of the words fathers of your own families, masters in your own houses. Remand us, we entreat you, remand us priests back to the proper limits of our work in the exercise of our priesthood, and to this end resume the duties of your own.

I remember that eighteen centuries ago twelve young men, gathered together by Jesus from the villages of Galilee, from the fishing-boats of the sea of Tiberius—twelve young men were constituted Apostles and regenerated the world.

Bear in mind, my friends, my brethren, young men

who hear me—bear in mind the work of the apostles, and at the same that of the patriarchs. O that my words might be blessed to-day, and that among you that hear them might be found twelve that should feel yourselves called of God to be true husbands and fathers! If this may be, they shall have done far more for France, and for the Church, than all the political and religious parties that divide and rend them! Ah, my friends, if each of you could say—"Yes, there "is a priesthood which has perished in the world; it is "the most ancient, and, in one sense, the most neces- "sary of all—the priesthood of the husband and the "father, and I will, in my own person, restore it to "the world and to the Church. Henceforth, I put far "away from me the speculative seductions, still more "the practical seductions, of materialism. I will hold "fast my purity, and keep myself worthy to receive "some day the gift of love, and when that day shall "come, I will take from the hands of God my bride, "the wife of my youth; I will clasp her in my arms, "I will bind her to my heart as to an altar; and min- "gling my soul with hers in one hymn, one flame, one "cloud of incense, I will offer her up before the Lord "as a victim, a glorious sacrifice of tenderness and "purity. I will love her as Christ loved the Church. "I will give myself in sacrifice for her as Christ gave "Himself for the Church, making it glorious, pure,

" spotless, by the virtue of His love.[1] I shall be the " priest of the loving communion of our conscience " and our prayer. I shall be the priest of a loving " fatherhood; for God must bless the parent no less " than the husband. Oh, unhappy degenerate races " that are only born of flesh and blood! Unhappy the " races who have no other origin but the gross will of " the animal man! But happy the sons who are born " of God at the same time that they are born of man! " Happy those who are begotten of the soul of their " fathers, and who are stamped with the divine seal " of righteousness and piety!"

"This," says the young Christian: "This is what I will do; this is what I will be. I will be husband and father; I will know in this world, from which all faith in such love seems to have perished, what it is to love a woman 'in the Lord,' what it is to be the father of children in the Lord and for the Lord. Not only will I be husband and father, but I will be priest! And may the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob bless me!"

Thus it is, my friends, that the old patriarchal priesthood shall rise again from its ruins, and join hands with the priesthood of the apostles. And when these two hands are clasped in brotherhood over every family, the hand of the priest of the Church and

[1] Ephesians v. 25—27.

the hand of the priest of the household, the hand of the father of the family, respected in his independence and in his government of hearts and consciences, and the hand of the priest of the Church called with sincerity, with loyalty, to aid and complete the work of the minister of the family—then will the world be saved, and not till then.

The Lessons of the Bible.

Speech at the Inauguration of the Bible Society at Rome, March 4, 1872.

It is but a few days since Pius IX. took the initiative in a genuine movement of religious progress, when, in this city of Rome, where hitherto religious beliefs were imposed, but never discussed, he gave his authorization—I may venture to say his benediction—to a solemn discussion, between Protestant ministers and Catholic priests, on the common ground of charity and learning.[1] The proceedings were opened with a prayer in common, and closed, not with a hurling of anathemas, but with an interchange of friendly greeting. This fact, which passes into a precedent for the future, has encouraged me to accept the invitation, kindly extended by the members of the Italian Bible Society.

[1] Reference is here made to the conferences that had just been held on the question—Was St. Peter ever in Rome?

I could not become a member of the Bible Society, and I am not called upon to endorse its constitution; but I have been not only honoured but deeply affected by the invitation presented to me by these respected gentlemen—let me say, these brethren in Christ and the Gospel. (*Applause.*) They invite me as a Catholic priest, and I come as a Catholic priest. Consequently, there is no occasion for Catholics to be astonished at seeing me here, nor for Protestants at hearing me declare the principles of my Church and faith. (*Applause.*)

Before entering into the argument which I will briefly develop, let me address myself more directly to my fellow-Catholics; and while recognizing the literary and Scriptural value of the fine translation of the Bible by Diodati, I nevertheless recommend to them, in the name of the Catholic Church, the translation, also excellent, of Martini, the learned Archbishop of Florence. I wish that I could quote here the eulogistic brief addressed to him by Pope Pius VI., which contains such an urgent exhortation to the reading of the Holy Scriptures.[1]

[1] "Optime sentis si Christi fideles ad lectionem divinarum litterarum magnopere excitandos existimas. Illi enim sunt fontes uberrimi, *qui cuique patere debent* ad hauriendam et morum et doctrinæ sanctitatem, depulsis erroribus, qui his corruptis temporibus late disseminantur."—"You are fully in the right in thinking that Christian believers ought to be urgently stimulated to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. For they are overflowing

I will indulge myself only in the expression of two wishes. The first is that the Catholics of Rome may imitate the example of their brethren of Northern Italy, and circulate here in Rome a popular edition of Martini's Bible, so that the desire of Pius VI. may not be altogether fruitless.

The second of my wishes is, that some Catholic scholar, or committee of Catholic scholars, may undertake a translation better yet than that of Martini, in respect both to the beauty of its Italian style, and to its fidelity to the original text.

And now I look forth upon this assembly impressed with its aspect, at once so strange and so full of consolation. Catholics and Protestants, but all Christians, here we are assembled in this city by which we once were separated. We have drawn near to God in one prayer, and we hold in our hands one book. It is a book which reconciles and consoles us, but at the same time it more or less condemns us all. It is well for Catholic priests and Protestant ministers to meet and discuss certain texts and facts of the Bible; but it is better still for them to listen together to the stern lessons addressed to them by the book of inspiration. Catholics and Protestants, the Bible tells us that we

fountains, which ought to be free to every man, from which to drink holiness of life and doctrine; the errors so widely disseminated in these corrupt times being driven far away."—*Brief of Pius VI.*

are its children, but children fallen, divided, impotent: —fallen from the eternal destiny of all our Churches; divided from the grand unity in which we ought to be gathered together; impotent against the double infidelity by which we are flooded both within and without the pale of Christian civilization. Let us lift ourselves up again by means of the Bible, for the Bible is the Word of God and the power of God. We shall be strong when we are united; we shall be united when we are brought up again to the plane from which we are fallen.

For, I repeat it, we are all fallen, more or less. Look at the general condition of Christianity in the world—look at it thoroughly and impartially—and we must every one of us confess, like the prophets of Israel, not only his own personal sins, but what is more difficult and more necessary, in a sense, the sins of his own Church. When every Christian shall confess sincerely the sins of his own Church, and all these voices shall join in the harmony of justice and humanity, then this tone will be heard predominating through the whole: the Church of Christ entire has fallen from the purity, the truth, the charity of the Gospel! "Jerusalem hath sinned exceedingly, therefore hath she become weak. All they that glorified her put her to scorn, because they have seen her shame."[1] We are fallen—and why?

[1] Lamentations of Jeremiah, i. 8.

Because we have not drawn our life enough from its source—that is the Bible, which Protestants have not always read aright, and Catholics have scarcely read at all. The life of the Church is not a political life, but a spiritual—the life of the soul in Christ and the life of Christ in the soul. Now, like all life, this spiritual life has its proper aliment—a twofold aliment—an aliment of light, the word of Christ in the Bible; and an aliment of love, the body of Christ in the Eucharist. What God hath joined, let us not put asunder—the Bible and the Eucharist,—the word of faith giving its true meaning to the work of love; the work of love giving its reality and its body to the mystery of faith! How fully was this apprehended by the greatest of the ascetics of the middle ages, the profound and loving monk who wrote the "Imitation of Christ." "I feel," said he, "that in this life two things are supremely necessary to me—without them I could not live: the Word of God, which is the light of the soul, and Thy Sacrament, which is the bread of life."[1] In the days of the Primitive Church, our true mother, side by side upon that altar of Christ where the martyrs prayed before being crushed "like grains of God's wheat between the teeth of the lions,"[2] were preserved and venerated those two treasures of equal price, the Bible and the Eucharist.

[1] "Imitation of Jesus Christ," Book IV. chap. xi.

[2] Epistle of Ignatius.

Later on, in this very city of Rome, St. Jerome founded for women a school of Biblical interpretation where one might have seen the descendants of the Æmilii and the Fabii seated at the feet of the rude Illyrian to decipher with him these letters-patent of Christian nobility and divine adoption. Scholars like these became teachers in their turn. They were consulted by the greatest doctors of the Church, and far from being a book exclusively reserved for the priest, the Bible was then the woman's book—the household book.[1] Let us come back to the Bible, and we shall find in it the healing of our souls and of society. In this immediate and living intercourse with God's Word, we shall restore to religious life that personal character without which it ceases to be itself; we shall save true Christianity from the attacks of scepticism and superstition, from man's false affirmations, not less perilous than his false negations. The Word of the Lord is a pure and burning Word—the silver seven times tried in the furnace.[2] Let us put the Bible in contact with the family. Let it be read in all our homes, and preached in all our churches. From this contact will come forth the regeneration of religious society. . . . and also, suffer me to say, the regeneration of civil

[1] Down to the fifth century, the Holy Scriptures were in the hands of all the faithful, and the object of their constant study.

[2] "Eloquia Domini eloquia casta: argentum igne examinatum, probatum terræ purgatum septuplum."—Psalm xi. 7.

society. I am not here to talk politics, but great social questions border close upon great religious questions. I applauded, with all my mind and heart, the noble representatives of England and America, who have just spoken before me, when they said that the greatness of these two nations is the work of the Bible. Yes, at the foundations of England there is something finer than *Magna Charta*, there is the Bible! In order to build an Italy that shall last, you must go down to the same foundations. I am a friend of Italy, but I am not her flatterer—for, by the grace of God, and somewhat, too, by the grace of my nature, I am no one's flatterer. While yet a youth, I learned to love Italy in the books of Balbo, of Rosmini, of Gioberti. At that time, according to the sneer of a scornful diplomatist, Italy was only a geographical expression. Now, certainly, it is a diplomatic expression; but it does not yet possess that which makes a nation—the fusion into a single soul of the sentiment of patriotism and the sentiment of religion. If Italy has brought with her to Rome no great religious thought,—if she has come hither with scepticism for her doctrine and expediency for her politics,—she has come hither to find her grave, and the most miserable of all graves, a grave of ridicule; for upon the base that was reared by giants, she will have placed a superstructure of dwarfs!

If the Bible is to lift us up from our downfall, it is also to draw us forth from our divisions. We are not only fallen, we are divided ; and this division is the most striking proof and the most disastrous effect of our fall.

Jesus Christ surely wished to establish unity upon the earth, for it was His wish to establish truth and charity. He prayed to His Father "that they may be one, as we are one!"[1] And He said to His brethren, "By this shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another."[2] And yet Christians are divided from each other,—and not only divided, they hate, they detest each other. I admit that there may be legitimate divisions, for I have too high a sense of my own freedom to disparage that of my brethren ; and I am aware that there are very various ways of looking at the same religious truth. Leibnitz has showed that there are not in the world any two drops of water exactly alike. I may add, that there is not in any two men the same way of looking at the same drop of water. These differences are the work of nature, and consequently they are the will of God. Let us hold fast to a great liberty in our religious opinions, but do not let us divide upon the essential—upon faith and charity. The Pagan world was much less divided—it never knew the asperity of our religious controversies. We have awakened upon the earth malignant passions

[1] John xvii. 22. [2] John xiii. 35.

such as, but for us, the earth would never have known. Catholics and Protestants, we have butchered each other on battle-field and scaffold; and when civil laws, grown more Christian than ourselves, have arrested our madness—when the theological beast has been muzzled—it has kept on raving still, and we have glared at each other with looks such as hell itself would not have blushed to own.

Well, then, let us read the Bible, especially the Gospel—not isolated texts, but the Gospel in its completeness and its spirit—and we shall be condemned and healed. We shall find freedom in truth and charity, authority in sweetness and humility. "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them; but it shall not be so among you; but he that will be great among you let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."[1] The greatest of all heresies is that which our Bossuet called *the heresy of domination.* Let us abolish, then, the domination of man over man—domination, I say, not authority—and let us set up in the place of it the Kingdom of God; for it is written, "Jehovah alone shall be king in that day,"[2] and again, "They shall teach no more every man his neighbour, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know the Lord, from the least even unto the greatest."[3]

[1] Matt. xx. 25, 26. [2] Isaiah ii. 11. [3] Jeremiah xxxi. 34.

When we are united, we can do great things, we can do everything, against the barbarism of anti-Christian doctrine; first, against that which hems in our civilization at every point, pressing in upon its sides like a vast girdle of miasma and darkness, and wresting from it, to this day, full two-thirds of the human race —idolatry, fetishish, Brahminism, Buddhism, Islam. Superficial and complaisant observers have declared that these forms of error were ready to vanish away. On the contrary, they are holding out; in some cases they are propagating themselves, as in Africa, where Mohammedanism seems to be in a fair way to conquer that vast continent from idolatry. And at the same time, within the pale of Christendom, another style of infidelity is daily spreading, more refined, more scientific, and therefore more formidable, and is bowing down the choicest minds of Europe before a God who is to be found only in Nature or in an abstract idea. You are trying (so they say to us) you are trying to impose your Bible on all mankind; whereas it is only a local and temporary book. You are giving it out as the final utterance in the domain of things moral and religious, whereas it is really nothing but a confused and childish stammering. And, in fact, to one who has not penetrated into the heart of the book, that is just what the Bible is—the history, the laws, the poetry of a little Semitic tribe, whose dominion was

not twenty leagues wide, and whose mind, narrower even than its territory, obstinately repelled all commerce and alliance with ancient civilization. The Jew had little but contempt and hatred for mankind—and mankind has well repaid it. The Gospel itself (so they add) is but an appendix of the book of Israel, the production of an obscure sect of pietists which grew up within the pale of the synagogue and aspired to transform and so perpetuate it. Yes, I acknowledge it, if you stop at the surface—at the outward appearance—the Bible and the Gospel are not much more than this.

But in this mean and narrow vessel, God, who is Lord of His own gifts and who brings our wisdom to confusion, God has put three treasures that can be found nowhere else, and with which humanity cannot dispense—the living God, the true Christ, the universal Church!

The one personal and living God, who bears no likeness to those material idols fashioned in the likeness of the forms and vices of our body, nor to those idols of the abstract reason, made of the shadows and infirmities of our mind; He is the God of the Bible, the God of the Jews, Jehovah, who said unto Moses *I am that I am.*[1] He is the God on whom Hagar called, when she sat beside the desert spring, and called it

[1] Exodus iii. 14.

The well of Him that liveth and seeth—*Puteus viventis et videntis.*[1]

But to what purpose would it be to know God so long as He abode in heaven and we upon the earth? For what should we bend over this fountain of the Scriptures, unless its waters sprang up to everlasting life?[2] The great gulf has been passed—the two-fold gulf which separates man from God—that of infinity, and that of sin. For Christ is God, and has come down from heaven; He is man and has gone up from earth, and filled up the distance with His Gospel and His redemption. He that had named Himself Jehovah has consented to be called Jesus! One father on the earth, Adam, the man; one Father in heaven, Jehovah, God; one Saviour both on earth and in heaven, Jesus, God and man.

Thus the Bible shows us our common origin and our common end. It teaches us what all the wisdom of the ancients never knew, what modern science still disputes; and it invites men of every race, colour, tongue, and creed to that mysterious city in which the unity of earth is to be consummated. Yes, the day is coming, my heart tells me it is not far off—the day cometh when there shall be no more Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics, no more Lutheran Protestants and Reformed Protestants, but only true Catholics and

[1] Genesis xvi. 14. [2] John iv. 4.

above all true Christians. The day cometh, I well believe it, despite the difficulties, despite the impossibilities, for there is one impossibility that outweighs all impossibilities, and that is, that God's Word should fail—that His plan should be abandoned. Courage, then! for when all is lost, then all is saved! Alas, I know full well that where there was but a trench men have opened an abyss; that where there was a wall they have reared a mountain. But I declare by Him who hath sent me to you, I declare by the Lord and by His Word, the abysses shall be filled up, the mountains shall be overthrown and beaten into dust! We shall pass through all human obstacles and enter into the city of God! We shall enter therein Bible in hand, chanting—in all tongues and all theologies, but in one faith and one love—the song of deliverance; and whatever be the visible city which shall be the symbol and guardian of unity, be it called Rome or Jerusalem, it shall be the city of righteousness and peace, for it shall be the city of Truth.

For thus saith the prophet,—"Jerusalem shall be called A city of Truth."[1]

[1] "Jerusalem vocabitur civitas veritatis."—Zechariah viii. 3.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Speech before the Peace League at Paris, July 10, 1869.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have only a few words to add to the learned and eloquent speeches to which you have been listening. After such voices, mine can have but little weight in these matters. Its sole importance is, that it more directly represents among you the Gospel.

The Permanent International Peace League proposes to act on public opinion by every means: and resorts accordingly to whatever light may illuminate it, and whatever force is competent to guide it. Among these lights and forces it must place in the front rank the Gospel, a light so pure, a force so potent, that not even the feebleness of our words nor the humbleness of our persons can weaken or obscure it.

For my part, then, I bring to the peace movement *the Gospel;* not that Gospel dreamed of by sectaries of every age—as narrow as their own hearts and minds—but the Gospel which I claim as my own, received by me from the Church and from Jesus Christ, a Gospel which claims authority over everything and excludes

nothing—which reiterates and fulfils the words of the Master, "he that is not against us is for us," and which, instead of rejecting the hand stretched out to it, marches forward to the van of all just ideas and all honest souls.

Permit me, then, before exhibiting religion and virtue as the best safeguards of peace, to recognize the services which may be rendered to it by institutions and interests of a more earthly sort. Institutions, interests, virtues —these are the instruments of peace on which I would fix your attention.

I. I have named Institutions first. Perhaps it is a mistake; for when we ask ourselves thoughtfully what sort of institutions would be adapted to secure the peace of the world, we come upon ideas so little practical that we seem to have reached the region of chimeras. I scarcely see any effectual institution other than that of a sovereign international court of justice, commissioned to adjudicate the disagreements arising among nations, and by authoritative judgments to prevent bloody collision. The future, perhaps, will enjoy such an institution. I am one of those who believe all the more in progress because of the entire faith we have in the Gospel, in redemption, in all those supernatural influences brought into the world, directly—principally, doubtless, to save souls, but also, as an inevitable and glorious incident, to save nations and the whole body of mankind. Possibly, in a future more or less remote, our posterity may salute that grand Areopagus which would realise in this part of the continent something like what has been spoken of as "the United

States of Europe;" but that is not to be to-day nor to-morrow; and consequently such an institution could not be reckoned among the barriers which we would oppose to war.

I recur rather to two powers now existing; Diplomacy, representing the governments—and Opinion, representing the people. It devolves on diplomacy and on public opinion, rising to the grandeur of that mission which the will of God and the conscience of mankind have appointed to them, to oppose insurmountable obstacles to the invasion of this scourge. Let diplomacy renounce the spirit as well as the letter of Machiavelli, let it reject the false science of expedients, the mean arts of deceit, and illuminated by the grand light of principles, glowing with the flame of generous sentiments, it will speedily have established in all the great centres of Europe an international league, a permanent and sovereign council of peace. By why speak of Europe only, when from the depths of Asia, over the crumbling battlements of the great wall, I hear that old China is sending us the son of youthful America, and claiming, through her representative, the honour of a place among civilized nations. This is the sort of diplomacy which has indeed the secret of the future!

But, after all, it is less to diplomacy than to public opinion that we must have recourse for our projects of peace. Pascal says, "Opinion is the queen of the world; Force is but its tyrant." It was but the morning twilight of public opinion that was shining in the days of Pascal and Louis XIV. The morning has advanced since then; it approaches its meridian, and everywhere, in

the present day, it tends to put an end to the caprices of personal government.

Personal governments have had their reason and their uses in other ages. A child is in need of masters and tutors standing towards him in strictly personal relations; but, as St. Paul says, speaking of regenerate humanity, we are no longer children nor slaves; we are entitled to come into possession of the inheritance. It is no time now for personal governments. It is time for the government of public opinion, for the government of the country by itself; and now that all countries are calling and stretching out the hand to one another, the hour is at hand for the government of mankind by itself.

I put the question, What is it that the nations demand to-day? Is it war, or peace? From the shores of America to those of Europe, and from all lands of the earth, there comes up a great cry that answers, Peace! Mankind (as was said in the speech to which we have just listened), mankind to-day more than ever feels that it is one; faithful to its several members, to particular countries, it sees above these countries the universal country, that commonwealth of God and man of which Cicero spoke: "*Universus hic mundus, una civitas communis Deorum atque hominum.*" Mankind is conscious that every war within itself is a civil war; it has no wish to be henceforth a camp, but a forum of civil life, a market-place of commercial and social intercourse, and over these a temple, whither it may ascend to worship God.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I had almost forgotten an

institution for which (as our honourable Secretary seems disposed to remind you), I have been accused, in other circumstances, of having had some partiality—I mean the army. I believe that, properly restricted and properly organized, the army is one of the most potent instruments of peace. The pure type of the soldier seems to me, in the epoch in which we live, almost as necessary to civilization as that of the priest; and I should be extremely sorry not to do justice to it. I do not speak of those monstrous armies born in days of fever, under the influence of intoxicated ambition, and which, making of peace a scourge almost as terrible as war itself, dig under the tramp of their ponderous battalions bottomless pits in the finances of the State, in the prosperity of families, in the blood of such multitudes of young men made sterile or corrupt. Surely I have no admiration for this aspect of military life; and when Europe wakes at last, from this bad dream which she has been dreaming for some years, not content with effacing such scandals from her laws and usages, she will blush that she cannot also expunge them from her history. What we want is the army reduced to its legitimate proportions; withdrawn in time of peace from the corrupting life of the garrison, and organized in such wise as to find its greatest satisfaction in peace. We have been told of the six thousand men who constitute the effective force of the United States. I do not think that we are far enough advanced toward the future to be satisfied with such modest requirements. But we have on the old continent other examples more in correspondence with our social condition, which we shall do well,

I will not say to copy, but to imitate with originality and independence. In the better part of Europe, the soldier is less isolated than with us from family and country life. It is in cultivating the soil, in dwelling by the fireside, that he learns to love them and defend them. *Pro aris et focis.* But why look beyond ourselves? Have we forgotten the first wars of our own republic, and those levies in mass to save the country, and those armies of undrilled peasants, oftentimes without shoes and without bread, who went forth to cover the frontier with a belt of heroic hearts, that they might hide from the eye of the stranger the shame within—the scaffold and the saturnalia—and that they might hurl back the veteran armies of all Europe in league against us?

II. I have a word to say concerning Interests. Earthly interests are a great matter—full of ideas and virtues; and after all, when God puts us on the earth, it is not to dream about heaven, but to prepare for it. It is by the conquest of earth that man should advance to the conquest of heaven. The Holy Book tells that God in his wisdom has made man to establish this world in justice and truth.[1] These are words which we cannot too often ponder; most of all, we cannot too closely apply them.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the justice which man owes the earth is agriculture, industry, commerce. Agriculture holds the foremost place. The earth lies in a lethargic slumber till it is roused by the stout arm of the labourer. It imbibes the sweat of man's brow, and

[1] Wisdom ix. 2, 3.

becomes stimulated by those bitter and sacred drops; it becomes disgusted at its native barbarism, and yields itself, actively and gladly, to the transforming and fertilizing culture. So the earth, established in justice and truth, becomes the fostermother of multitudes, opening her generous breasts to men of every nation, and pouring out to them those great streams of physical life without which moral life itself would speedily die away. The farmer with worthy pride turns over to the artisan the product of his labour, and says, "Brother, complete my work and begin your own! pursue the great toil prescribed by God to man." And the artisan takes the fruits of agriculture, summons from every quarter the hidden or refractory powers of nature, subdues the refractory, brings to light the hidden, and in his turn creates those wonders which are the last utterance of man and of matter in the sphere of the useful, as the fine arts are their last utterance in the sphere of the beautiful. And when farmer and artisan have done their work, then commerce lifts her broad wings, her sails fill, her engines hiss and throb, her ships plough the sea, her fiery chariots traverse the land, the arteries of nations open in every direction, that the blood of a common civilization, the vivifying sap of the same moral ideas and the same material products, may permeate all mankind. And the word of St. Paul is fulfilled, which was not made known before the coming of Christianity, that supreme inspirer of great things, *Gentes esse cohæredes*, "that the nations should be fellow-heirs."

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, what is it but peace,

that stands, with Christianity, at the beginning and at the end of all these things? Peace as origin and result; peace always and everywhere! Woe, woe, if the war-trumpet sounds, if the arms of labourers in field and workshop are turned violently from their proper object, if the sails of the merchant-ships are suddenly furled, and if, alike by land and sea, instead of the glad din of labour, we hear only the fearful shock of destruction! Away with these hateful images! Let us pause a moment before two great spectacles of the passing hour.

You are Christians. I also am a Christian, and a priest, and a monk. But neither in the Christian religion, nor in these glorious rags of the monastic habit, nor in the seclusion of cloister and temple, has it been in my wish, nor in my power, to sever myself from interest in the things of earth! Accordingly, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with genuine emotion, that in behalf of you all, I hail these new triumphs of human toil and genius!

I turn toward the East, whence morning by morning comes the sun, whence came the light of the gospel, and at the point which once divided Europe and Asia I see no longer division, but the signs of glorious union. It is the admiration and advantage of the world; but it is the work of France. It is my own beloved France that has wrought it! France conceived the project; she maintained it against the sneers which are the portion of genius as well as of virtue; she invented those prodigious machines, and made the rocks, as the Psalmist says, "to leap like rams," and sends gliding and spark-

ling through the sunshine of the desert the waters of the canal that is to join two worlds!

I turn now to the West. This time it is the water which divides — the vast Atlantic, rolling between America and us. But see, from the lofty decks of the glorious Leviathan, in our harbour of Brest—for it is France still!—see that gigantic cable plunging with the noise of thunder, with the swiftness of lightning! It sinks into the waves, dispelling, as it goes, the monsters of the deep, and braving the stress of storms. It stretches from Europe to America, to carry messages, not of war but of peace, and to fix as a reality the union of the three nations which form the aristocracy of the world, and which, whenever they shall so choose, have power to establish throughout our planet the reign of peace—America, England, and France!

III. The Virtues. Ladies and Gentlemen, human society rests on a deeper and more sacred basis than mere interests, or even ideas. The moral order is the necessary foundation of the social order. It would be an illusion, then, to suppose that the various forces just enumerated are sufficient of themselves to maintain peace, and that they may safely cut loose from this supreme force—virtue. Our honourable and learned Chairman has just described the disordered passions of the heart as a permanent principle of war. Permit me to remark that I had said this very thing on the subject of *war* in a lecture of mine, for which some of the friends of peace have complained of me. I said, "war is the ideal of sin, the ideal of the brute and the devil." But it is just because it is the ideal of the brute and

the devil, that it is, in one aspect, the ideal of man. There is something of the brute and of the devil in man. The root of war is in pride, concupiscence, revenge—in all the bad passions that ferment within us. It is our burden and our glory to struggle against these; but if we would conquer them, we must not ignore their existence and energy. To banish war, to say to it what the Lord says to death—"O death, I will be thy death"—we must make an exterminating war on sin—sin of society as well as of the individual—sin of peoples as well as of kings. We must record and expound to the world, which does not understand them as yet, those two great books of public and private morality, the book of the synagogue, written by Moses with the fires of Sinai, and transmitted by the prophets to the Christian Church; and our own book, the book of grace, which upholds and fulfils the law, the Gospel of the Son of God. The Decalogue of Moses, and the Gospel of Jesus Christ! The Decalogue which speaks of righteousness, while showing at the height of righteousness the fruit of charity; the Gospel which speaks of charity, while showing in the roots of charity the sap of righteousness. This is what we need to affirm by word and by example, what we need to glorify before peoples and kings alike!

I thank you for your applause! It comes from your hearts, and it is intended for these divine books! In the name of these two books, I accept it. I accept it also in the name of those sincere men who group themselves about these books, in Europe and America. It is a most palpable fact that there is no room in the

daylight of the civilized world except for these three religious communions, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism!

The want of a peace catechism has been spoken of with regret. We have one. Something more detailed in form, or more appropriate to our special wants, may be desirable, but I must assert that the catechism is already made. You need but carry the Decalogue to its conclusions. You need but apply to nations the principles of individual morality, and abolish that refuge of lies—one rule for private life, and another for public life.

"Thou shalt not kill," says the everlasting law. But does it only condemn the cowardly and cruel wretch who skulks behind his victim and plunges a dagger into his heart, or blows out his brains with a pistol? Is murder no longer a crime when it is committed on a great scale, and is the act of a prince or of a deliberative assembly? What! think you that without breaking God's law, without offending human conscience, without branding on your forehead the mark of Cain, without heaping burning coals on your head—think you that you can lay open to the gaze of history those vast fields of carnage, and there, for the gratification of your whim or the accomplishment of your design, mow down your fellow-creatures with grape-shot by the hundred-thousand? O Cain! Cain; where is Abel thy brother?

"Thou shalt not kill," says the law. It also says, "Thou shalt not steal." Here is a poor man. His wife and children, emaciated with want, are languishing on foul straw in one of those penfolds that abound in great

cities filled with luxurious palaces. In the fever of his distress, in the delirium excited in his soul by the tears he has seen on his wife's cheeks and by the petitions of his little children, this man snatches a loaf of bread, or a piece of money, and brings back, not joy, but life into the dwelling of famine. Thither human justice pursues him; it tears him from that weeping family; it smites him, with one blow, in his love, his honour, and his liberty. And here, on the other hand, is a government which is meditating some straightening or other of the frontier without—some astute diversion of public attention within—some trap or other, baited with glory to catch liberty—and while waiting for the judgment of history, and the surer judgment of God, the public conscience will condone, perhaps will glorify, the robbery of so many cities or provinces, the crafty or violent annexation of a whole people! For my part, as a minister of the living God, laying my hand upon the Ten Commandments, I am not afraid to say: In the former case, if there be sin, it is venial sin; in the latter case it is mortal sin!

"Thou shalt not covet," proceeds the book of inspiration. And in fact, in the judgment of the Christian conscience, the sin is not only in the hand that acts, it is in the longing eye, the plotting heart. O kings, potentates, peoples—for the peoples have their times of madness, and democracies as well as personal governments have those who flatter them to their ruin—whoever you are, kings or peoples, ye shall not covet! Ye shall not say, We bide our time; and as the brigand bides his, in the darkness of his den, ye shall not scent

in advance the savour of the blood ye do not dare to shed. Ye shall not covet.

You see, Ladies and Gentlemen, what is wanted is not to construct a catechism, it is to reconstruct history. We do not want to be taught henceforth from the cradle upward that the greatest glory is that of the conqueror. What you must tell your children—I speak to you, mothers—is that the man who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before has done more for mankind than the victor of twenty battles; that they should respect the independence of nations as they respect the modesty of women; that it is as cowardly and criminal to insult the independence of a neighbouring country as to tolerate insults on the independence of our own.

Ah! if it were a war of independence, I would be the first, if not to wage it, at least to preach it. If the flag of France were at the frontier for defence and not for attack, torn it might be by bullets, blackened with smoke, red with blood, but around it we would rally, one and all, and it would not waver! Dear, glorious flag! if warriors' hands were lacking, the hands of our women would grasp the staff, and it would not waver.

I have spoken of justice; but justice alone is not enough, whether between nations or between individuals. There must be charity with it. Why is it that the law is so hard, so impossible to keep, until the Spirit of grace descends into the heart? It is because mere justice is an irksome thing. It limits our rights by the rights of others, and restricts the sphere of our activity. But let love enter the heart and expand it

until it finds its own good and its own happiness in the happiness and good of others, and the law is no longer hard to keep. It becomes a necessity of the soul as well as a duty. This is the meaning of that deep saying of St. Augustine, "only love, and you may do what you choose." But to this end, the nations, not satisfied with being just, must be good, kind, trustful toward each other. The nations of Europe must maintain among themselves dispositions like those of provinces of the same country.

Does the prosperity of one of our provinces produce invidious feelings in the rest? No; because in their individuality—too imperfect, in my opinion, but real, nevertheless—they form the grand unit, France. Well, let each of the nations of the continent consider itself a province of that commonwealth of the "United States" of Europe which, if it has not yet received its political, yet has received its moral constitution Then, in the superior unity which knits together their interests, and instead of impairing, strengthens and develops them, they will learn to trust each other; and when, as the result of honourable effort—of industry and virtue—the prosperity of one of them shall be increased, it will not excite fear in any quarter, but pride and satisfaction everywhere. The little States will say, We have one protector more. And the great States will open ranks to welcome a new and potent auxiliary.

But how much closer and holier this unity becomes, when we consider it in its relations to Christianity! I have referred already to the wonderful teaching of St. Paul. "The nations are fellow-heirs, and of the same

body."[1] "*Concorporales:*" it is one of those new words coined by Christianity to express the new ideas which it brought into the world, the idea of true cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism, the idea of the city and people of God! The nations are more than consolidated; they are *concorporeal*, because they are "partakers of one promise," and of one divine life, "in Christ by the gospel."

Ladies and Gentlemen, I call to mind the first appearance of the symbol of the cross on a military standard. A Prince, of whom I speak reservedly—for though in certain relations he was the benefactor of the gospel, he also, in my opinion, inflicted on it no little injury—Constantine the Great—at that moment he was great, indeed, for he was struggling against the blind and violent resistance of expiring paganism; in one of those prophetic dreams which come to great men on the eve of the great events of their lives and of the world's life, Constantine saw the Redeemer holding in his hands, oh wonder! a flag of war; but on that flag was traced the Cross!

The Cross upon the flag! It is first the transformation of war, and then its destruction: transformation by justice and charity, destruction by peace. No! since that ray of heaven marked out the Cross upon the Labarum, there must be no war save just war, waged only for the defence of right against violent aggression, and consequently against war, and in the interest of peace. All other war than this is pagan, even though Christians be its soldiers; and the Cross of Jesus which

[1] Ephesians iii. 6.

it profanes shall be avenged, in the judgment of the last day. No! under the standard of the Cross, no more of hatred, revenge, cruelty! But on these fields of horror, yet of moral beauty, the same hands which have inflicted wounds shall come near, trembling with pity, I had almost said with remorse, to staunch and heal. Instead of that savage war-cry of antiquity, *Væ victis*, "woe to the vanquished!"—there shall be seen and heard nothing but love toward the conquered, and respect.

The day shall come, it may be ages from this time—but to the thought of God, and to the life of humanity, ages are but days—when the light of the Cross shall shine out upon the prophetic Labarum, and the battle-standard shall be thenceforth only the standard of the immortal victory of peace.

In the present age of the world, universal and perpetual peace is only a chimera. In the age to come, it will be a reality. For my part, I have always believed—and now, in this assembly of my brethren, I do not hesitate to tell the secret—I have always believed that in some nearer or remoter future, mankind would come, not to complete perfection, which does not belong to earth, but to that relative perfection which precedes and prepares for heaven. After the fall of Jerusalem and Rome, and the predicted end of the ancient world, the primitive Christians, heirs of the promises of Jewish prophecy, did not expect immediately the beginning of the heavenly and eternal state, but a temporal reign of Jesus Christ and His saints, a regeneration and triumph of man upon the earth. I also look for this mysterious millennium, about which such errors of detail cannot

shake the deep, unalterable truth. I look for it, and in the humble but faithful measure of my labours, my words, my prayers, I strive to prepare the way for it. I believe that nations as well as individuals shall some day taste the fruit of universal redemption by the Son of God made man. I believe that the Law and the Gospel shall reign over this whole planet. I believe that we—that you and I—shall see descending from heaven a manhood humbler and nobler, meeker and mightier, purer and more loving, in a word, grander, than our own. "And this man shall be the peace!" *Et erit iste Pax.*[1]

Over the cradle of our Lord Jesus Christ the angels sung, in the majestic beauty of that Christmas night, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men." And over the tomb from which He rose, the cradle of His new life, Christ says Himself, "I have overcome the world! My peace I give to you!" The future shall receive that promise of the angels, and that gift of Christ—the double hosanna of His cradle and His tomb. The future is the inheritance, not of the violent, but of the meek. Then shall be brought to pass that other saying, written among the words that shall never pass away, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

[1] Micah v. 5.

France and Germany.

A Discourse delivered in London, December 20, 1870, *for the Benefit of the French Peasants of the Provinces desolated by the War.*

For nearly five months, Europe has been witnessing the most formidable collision of modern times; and every true friend of humanity, every earnest disciple of the Gospel is anxiously asking "What can I do to hasten the return of peace?" Mighty as are the triumphs of material force, they are still subordinate to moral force; and thus it is that, in the words of our Holy Scriptures, the kingdom of this world belongs, in the grand result, to God and to His Christ. Each of us is the depositary of a part of this moral force. When it lays siege to God's righteousness,[1] it is called prayer; when it does battle with the unrighteousness of man, it is called opinion; in either case it has power to remove mountains. At this moment my appeal is to opinion; and nowhere could I better address myself to it than on English soil. Failing to prevent this lamentable war, England has wrought prodigies of devotion to abate its horrors. The wounded of the two armies, the peasants of the ravaged provinces, have learned what may be achieved by the charity of a great nation. But, gentlemen, your task is not yet done. The hour has come for your country to make its high and impartial reason felt,

[1] "The kingdom of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."—Matt. xi. 12.

more potently yet, in the counsels in which peace shall be decided.

I leave to statesmen and warriors the task of settling the conditions which shall make this peace a lasting one. I mean to avoid all those matters which have only too much irritated and aggravated the dispute. It is for vulgar and mischievous minds to handle questions by the sides which divide, in such wise as to retard the settlement of them, even if they do not render it altogether impossible. Let us leave them to their noisy and useless wranglings, and for our part let us rise toward better regions, toward that land "which the lion's whelps have not trodden, and the vulture's eye hath not seen."[1]

Is there any permanent controversy at issue between France and Germany? Is this one of these conflicts the character of which is the more terrible, and their duration the more protracted, by so much as the causes of them lie the deeper? Such is the question which I propose to treat, looking upon it from the double point of view of the antagonism of races, and the antagonism of religions.

I.

And first, the antagonism of races. It has been said: "This war is no ordinary war between states; two races are disputing between themselves the empire of Europe —the Latin race by the sword of France, the Germanic race by that of Prussia. It is the decisive struggle of

[1] Job xxviii. 7, 8.

two civilizations, the final shock of two worlds in collision!"

I freely acknowledge that the idea of race is not without its importance and its rights in history. It is connected with another idea, that of family, which is the principle at once of all diversity and of all unity among men. The race is the family on a larger scale. It is the relation of father and child raised to the highest power, creating a new type of humanity, a characteristic form both of physical and of moral life, and transmitting them through the generations by the enduring plastic influence of the same blood and the same language. It is nothing strange, then, that a strongly marked race should feel itself to be a sort of mankind within mankind. This profound instinct has been approved, or rather, has been hallowed by God Himself, who, when He would intervene personally upon the earth, has (if I might venture the expression) associated His own destinies with the destinies of a family and a race—the family of Abraham, the race of Israel.

And yet here, as everywhere, we find the two opposite conceptions—the ancient idea and the modern—the Pagan idea and the Christian.

According to the ancient view, the race is not only distinct, it is isolated. It believes itself to be of superior origin, and made for superior destinies. All blood but its own is impure, and it loathes the idea of alliance with it. Every language but its own is barbarous, and sounds to its ear like a mere brute gibberish. It carries this spirit of separation even into those things which are most fitted to unite—into religion and morals. It re-

cognizes no duties save towards its own members; it worships gods that are the foes of every nation but itself, and in the name of heaven, as well as of earth, it lives in a state of war with the whole world. Evidently the object pursued by the race, until it learns to rise above this gross conception, can be nothing but the extermination or the enslavement of the other races.

How different that new idea, dimly descried in the future by the Hebrew prophets, and, now and then, even by the sages of India and Greece and Rome, but which Jesus Christ alone was able effectually to introduce into the world! By this, the races lose nothing of their importance. The Gospel comes not to destroy but to fulfil. They retain their physiognomy, their distinctive lineage and mission, but they are no longer enemies nor even strangers. They are reconciled, in the discovery of their long-forgotten mutual kindred. Henceforth there is something more than men or than nations; there is mankind, feeling itself to be one, throughout the length and breadth of the world, by the blood of Adam flowing in its veins, and by the Spirit of Christ breathing in its soul.

I know that recent science has raised certain doubts on the unity of our origin; and the question may arise whether, since science has brought us to a more just interpretation of the Bible on the subject of the antiquity of our planet and even of our race, it will not some day bring us to a new explanation of the creation of our first parents. For my part, I do not believe that this is to be; but if I do not believe it, neither do I dread it. The oneness of our race is far less in the heart of Adam

than in the heart of God—in that "tender mercy" of our creating and redeeming God of which the Gospel sings, "whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us."[1] Yes: even if there were different physical sources of our blood; even if mankind were sprung from more than a single pair; even if the Adam and Eve of the Bible were but the type of many historic or rather pre-historic Adams and Eves, neither my religious faith, nor my faith in humanity, would thereby be shaken. It would still and for ever be true that one Creator had bowed Himself over the primeval clay, to quicken us with the divine breath, that one Redeemer had restored us all to the image and likeness which we all in common had received and lost. *Ipsius enim et genus sumus*, as St. Paul says: "for we are also of His race!"[2]

Having then but one Father, in one God, the various races of man are called to consider themselves as the fraternal branches of one family, and to draw nigh to each other in the observance of the same laws of justice and love, in the practice of the same worship, the adoration of the Father in spirit and in truth. The true type of their destiny is found, not now in the multitude of those fields of battle on which they were wont to slay each other in the name of their false gods, but in the one city and the one temple—in that mystical Zion whither, gathering from all the ends of the earth, they shall go up nation by nation, to rejoin Israel, the first-born nation of Jehovah.

Tell me no more, then, of the antagonism of races. Speaking as a Christian to Christians, I answer you with

[1] Luke i. 78. [2] Acts xvii. 28.

the words of St. Paul:—"By revelation he has made known to us the mystery which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, that the nations should be joint-heirs, and parts of one and the same body, and partakers of God's promise in Christ Jesus by the Gospel."[1]

Apply these principles to the question before us. If there is opposition between the pretensions of Germany and those of France, it is because these pretensions are unjust. There is no opposition, there can be none, between the real interests of two Christian nations. These interests, if we leave out of view certain side-questions the importance of which is sometimes exaggerated, may be summed up, for substance, in these words; the Unity of Germany, and the Integrity of France. Now, in the first place I declare that France would have no reason to look upon the establishment of German unity as a misfortune for herself. I make bold to say this, notwithstanding the prejudices of a party of my fellow-countrymen, notwithstanding the authority of eminent men whose shrewd and sound judgment on so many other points I hold in high respect. I am the more bold herein, as this policy is for me no makeshift of the hour. I had no sympathy with the "patriotic anguish"[2] which followed upon Sadowa, and in the pulpit of Notre Dame at Paris, where it fell to me to touch upon these questions at those lofty summits at which they themselves

[1] Ephesians iii. 3, 6.

[2] An expression of M. Rouher, uttered in the Legislative Body, March 16th, 1867: "This unlikely and unexpected event" (the battle of Sadowa) "filled the hearts of all men of the government with *patriotic anguish*."

touch upon morals and religion, I put forth every effort to bring my country to recognize in the neighbour countries not dangerous competitors, but peaceful rivals, natural allies, and in many respects useful models.[1] I claim, then, that France had no occasion for agitation when she saw established at her doors a first-class political and military power, and that she ought not to have looked upon the unity of Germany either as a humiliation or as a menace.

It is no humiliation. For it is with nations as with individuals: when they are indeed great—and such is France—they have no need to attenuate everything about them in order to seem great. The real elements of a nation's greatness are within itself, in the regular and progressive development of its institutions, in the increase of its material prosperity, and, still more, of its intellectual and moral wealth. The greatness which is sought abroad, by arrogant interventions in the affairs of others, is as illusory as it is criminal. It is the policy of envy; and of all policies there is none more unworthy of the glorious history and of the heroic soul of France.

Neither is the unity of Germany a menace. Had France but spoken in that tone which is no less persuasive on the lips of a nation than on those of an individual—had she declared her determination to respect the liberty of Germany in everything that concerned its internal organization; had she repudiated all desire of conquering those Rhenish provinces which have no more wish to be French than Alsace and Lorraine have, at

[1] "Conferences" in Notre Dame on the "Family," and on "Christianity and Civil Society," 1866 and 1867.

this hour, to be German ; had she refused to reach out a hand towards that sacred river, over whose waters float the historic and legendary traditions of the German people ;—then France would not have had to dread a German invasion, or, in case of that impossible aggression, would have had all Europe on her side.

So then it was no more a matter of interest than of right for us to oppose the unity of Germany. I do not fear to add that our interest was rather to encourage it. There are some results against which no opposition can prevail, seeing that they are in the nature of things. The aspirations of a whole people demand them ; the logical development—I might say the fated development—of its history leads to them ; they seem to it like the necessary condition of the fulfilment of its providential destiny. An intelligent statesmanship forecasts events like these, and far from putting in their way impotent obstacles, which in the long run would only work its own harm, it lends to them a generous and sagacious aid by which it turns them to its own advantage. The Imperial government at the outset fully understood this ; and I am glad, on this point, to do it that justice which has been so long withheld from it. It did not allow itself to be frightened by those two bugbears that have scared France out of her senses—the unity of Italy and the unity of Germany. It unfurled on the fields of Magenta and Solferino that flag of which the Emperor so justly said : "it is preceded by a great cause, and followed by a great people ;" and after that thunderbolt of the campaign of 1866, it affirmed in a circular which is still famous, the calmness with which France looked

upon the establishment of a new order of things in Europe. Unhappily the Empire became blinded by the passion of personal government. It never understood that which constitutes the glory and tranquillity of your noble country—the loyal alliance between the throne and liberty—and therefore it was, that, having resolved to resist at every cost, in its internal policy, the real public opinion that was urging it towards liberty, it felt forced to yield, in its foreign policy, even to the most unwarranted exactions of an opinion which was not that of the country. Towards Italy, and still more towards Prussia, it assumed that attitude of distrust and menace which made enemies for it where it had once had allies, and which plunged it at last into that gulf into which it has dragged us along with it.

You see, gentlemen, that what opposed the unity of Germany was not the real interest of France, but the prejudices of a factitious public opinion, the passions of a false national honour, set in operation by the most detestable calculations of a dynastic ambition.

On the other hand, Germany had no more interest in attacking the integrity of France, than France had in preventing the unity of Germany. All that I have been saying against the fatal policy that has brought us to Sedan holds good against the not less blind nor less guilty policy which Germany has been following from that time onward. The Emperor Napoleon has vanished in the storm he so madly conjured up. His soldiers, worthy of a better fate, but betrayed by fortune, are fellow-captives with him. It is the nation that is left, alone and almost disarmed, to face this deluge of fire

and steel—yes, the nation, with that capital, which belongs not only to France but to Europe, home of art and science, too often, also, of luxury and pleasure, but turned now into an impregnable citadel, whose every citizen is a soldier, I had almost said, a hero—the nation, with its homes transformed to hospitals, where every woman becomes a Sister of Charity, while the priests follow the husbands and sons to the battle-field to pray with them,—if need be, to die with them! Ah, gentlemen, this abuse of victory against such a nation, this want of respect and pity for woes unmatched in history, this relentless prosecution of our political annihilation, is it not a course as wanting in generosity as in equity? But more than this, considered as a policy, it is wanting in forecast. The annihilation of France cannot be anything more than temporary. The greatness of Prussia dates not from Sadowa, but from Jena; its disasters were the beginning of its regeneration. Even so a new France shall date from Sedan,—shall spring to birth, if it must needs be, from the ashes of Paris. I have not a doubt of it. I only fear lest by Prussia's own fault, this future France should have but one sole passion—hatred; but one sole aim—vengeance. Alas! the most fearful spectacles of war are not always on the battle-field! I have met with them by the fireside. I have seen French mothers, in the transports of their patriotism, hugging their babies to their bosoms, and telling them in tones to make one shudder, "Child, hate the Prussians!" A people nursed in sentiments such as these is a terrible neighbour. The day might come when the new German Empire would find this out.

At all events, war would become endemic on the continent, and the second half of this century, which seemed called to inaugurate the era of peace, would pass away amid bloodier struggles and more fatal convulsions than those which marked its entrance. Germany, at the centre, I might say at the heart, of Europe, instead of a new focus of civilization, would become a focus of barbarism. Faithless to its true vocation, to be pre-eminently an intellectual, peaceful, liberal power, it would become a prey to the worst of despotisms—military despotism. It would inoculate itself with the poison which it has extinguished in our veins, and instead of reviving the traditions of Charlemagne, would continue those of the Cæsars and the Napoleons.

Let the statesmen of Germany heed this well. If they should dare assume, before God and before history, the responsibility of such a future, it is not France only that they would injure; it is not only Europe. They would themselves become the most dangerous enemies of their own country; and I do not believe there can be any mistake in saying that they would set themselves in opposition to the real public sentiment of Germany, —that sentiment which is strengthening day by day among the enlightened classes, and which responds to the profoundest instincts of the common people.

I have omitted all mention of Alsace and Lorraine; and I have done it purposely. This question, agitated on either side so passionately, is one of those which seem to me of secondary importance. In no respect does it affect the substance of the debate; and the excessive importance given to it on the part of Germany

as well as on the part of France, is one of the most futile, and at the same time one of the most active of the causes which have prolonged this aimless struggle. No! for my part, I have too high, and I am sure, too just an idea of my country to confound, at this point, her moral integrity with her material integrity, or to think that the possession of a couple of provinces is so essential to her greatness that losing these she would be brought down from her present exalted rank. Your own history, gentlemen, would re-assure me, if there were need. When we recovered Calais, that city which you had made (as some one said) "a loaded pistol at the heart of France," the event was magnified in your minds to the proportions of a public calamity, and your Queen Mary went down in sorrow to her grave, with that fatal name "written on her heart." But where to-day is the Englishman who dreams of lamenting the loss of Calais? Doubtless it would be just the same, by-and-bye, if Metz and Strasburg should be rent away from us. The reason why we so earnestly insist upon our claim to those two cities is not so much their strategical importance, as the heroic fidelity which they have manifested towards us and which we render them in return. Alsace and Lorraine desire still to be French. They would show it by their vote; they have declared it by their blood. France owes it to them and to herself not to abandon them.

Further, it is a mistake to say that Germany would find the annexation of these two provinces a necessary guarantee against the recurrence of aggression from our side. If the new Germanic empire will but be moderate

as well as powerful, it will have nothing to fear from a neighbour that is at once enfeebled and grateful. I believe, whatever men may say about it, in such a thing as national gratitude; and I have a very special faith in it in the case of my own generous country. The real guarantees for which Germany ought to look are in the relations of good neighbourhood, in a sincere and lasting alliance with us. Now the best pledge of such an alliance is the maintenance of Alsace and Lorraine in our national unity. These provinces, perhaps you will say, belong to Germany by their history as well as by their language. I freely acknowledge it. But they have become penetrated with the spirit of France, and they belong to us by the energy and the persistence of their patriotism. Alsace and Lorraine are the natural and vital bond between the two great nations. They are the hand, I might almost say the heart, of Germany, resting fraternally in the hand and heart of France.

Let us take a higher view yet, and as we are speaking of races and their antagonism, let us contemplate France as the instrument, in the hands of Providence, for their reconciliation. Sprung alike from Rome and from Germany, mingling their genius in its language, and their blood in its veins, with the genius and blood of the ancient Celts, France is a sort of point of contact and union between the Latin and the German races.

God, who rules in history, and who seems, to our apprehension, to be about to give to history its final and consummate expression in this occidental civiliza-

tion which we justly call the Christian civilization,—God has been making ready, a great way off, and each apart from the other, the two chief elements of which it is made up—on the one hand, in those splendid but too often enslaved and corrupted southern lands, the element of the Latin races, related, with the Greek races, to a common type; on the other hand, in those forests whose history no pen has written,—say rather those forests whose history awaited the pen of Tacitus,—the barbarous but purer and freer element of the Germanic races. By the splendour of their civilization, the strength of their political organization, the institutions of municipal freedom and of the Roman law, the Latin races represented more particularly the idea of the commonwealth. The German races, on the contrary, by that independence of which they were so jealous, those ties of blood which were almost the sole bond of union in their tribes, that instinctive and religious chastity which saw in woman something more than human—*inesse divinum quid*, says Tacitus—the German races realised especially the idea of the family. One other race, the Jewish, in like seclusion, kept for both these the higher idea of religion. When God had summoned this from the hills of the East in the apostles and the early Christians; when the Gospel had appeared as the healer of all divisions, the educator of all barbarisms, the reformer of all civilizations, it produced in the world an immense and awful collision—thus men always begin; but the collision ended, at last, in a mutual and peaceful embrace, and *Christendom* began to be. But God's work is not yet finished. Even

though united, the North and the South are enemies still, and the antagonism of the two worlds continues, suppressed sometimes, anon breaking forth again, from generation to generation. In the Middle Ages it is the Hierarchy and the Empire; in the Sixteenth Century it is the Protestant Reformation; in the Nineteenth, the French Revolution. It is time for the two worlds to become one, and for the races of the north and those of the south, in full reconciliation, to accomplish the last stages of perfect civilization and of the kingdom of God upon the earth.

Rumour ascribes to the powerful statesman who presides at this moment over the destinies of Germany, I had almost said, of Europe, the conviction that the Latin races are exhausted. He is wrong; they are only impaired; and it is the part of a humane and far-sighted statesmanship, not to attempt their destruction, but to aid in their regeneration.

II.

Do you remember, gentlemen, those old legends in which, at the moment when two armies are grappling in the tug of war upon the plain, there appear celestial warriors fighting in the clouds above their heads? Thus it is that after having transformed this terrible contest into a war of races, there are some who desire to represent it as a war of religions, and behind these two nations in arms have seen two Churches struggling for the empire of the world.

I have a distrust of these analogies, which are rather ingenious than substantial, and in the present case I doubt whether it is quite just to look upon France and Germany as the official champions of the two great forms of Christianity. Germany is divided almost equally between Protestantism and Catholicism; and France, on the other hand, represents, by a great part of herself, the most energetic, often the most excessive re-action, not indeed, against Catholicism, but against the excesses of the Roman system.

However this may be, and even if it were true that the two Churches stood confronted together with the two nations, I do not see in this any reason for fighting, but only for joining hands. Do you ask why? Because —thank God for it—the time of religious wars is past. It is one of the noblest triumphs of the Christian spirit, one of the most salutary and best-established benefits of modern civilization, to exclude the sword from the domain of religion,—not only the sword of the magistrate, who has no right to punish in that domain, but the sword of the soldier, who has no mission to conquer there. "He that takes the sword shall perish by the sword." This word of the Saviour is fulfilled most of all in the sphere of religion. The sword is impotent against that faith, true or false, which it seeks to destroy. Commonly it succeeds only in reviving, elevating, extending it. But it is only too potent against the infatuated Church which carries it. It turns against that Church, and kills or wounds in its bosom the moral principle which constituted its real force.

But it is not only war by fire and sword that has

ceased between Churches: war by word and pen is tending to come to an end. Theological controversies still continue, but they no longer inflame the passions of the people. Religious polemics have preserved, have even aggravated, sometimes, their ancient rigidity of gait, their ancient violence of procedure; but they repel, more and more, in every communion, truly pious souls, and truly cultivated minds.

A movement immeasurable, irresistible, is mysteriously drawing all the Churches towards each other. The struggles of the extreme parties only prove the resistlessness of the current against which they strive to swim. In all directions the Churches are being forced out of their isolation and exclusiveness. They find that they have been alienated through ignorance of each other rather than by hatred; and they try to know each other better in their past as well as in their present. They bring their archives together, and fairly adjust among themselves their several titles to glory and to shame:—for there is no Church so perfect as not to have its shame, forasmuch as it is of man; there is no Church so obscure as not to have its glories, forasmuch as it is of God. They estimate the comparative value of the forms under which the Gospel doctrine has been set forth in one Church and another, the developments of the Christian life in each. Withal, as in that translation of the Holy Scriptures which I have seen in this country in preparation under the care of ministers belonging to all the communions, they seek together, beneath the letter which has so long divided them, the Spirit which begins to re-unite them. Verily, it is

once more fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, "The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth." [1]

It would be a grievous mistake to seek in religious indifference the principle of this wonderful movement. Religious indifference is not the characteristic of our age:—the famous book of M. de Lamennais had only a temporary and local truth. Never was a century less indifferent than ours. I call to witness the activity of its religious inquiries, marked by a depth and sincerity such as former ages have not known in the same degree. I call to witness its very doubts themselves—earnest, burdensome doubts, with which it does not trifle, like Voltaire, but with which it suffers, and (if I might speak of it as embodied in some of its most illustrious representatives) of which it dies. Finally, I call to witness its faith—a faith which grows stronger, purer, grander, under the redoubled blows of criticism and scepticism, and endows it with strength to live and strength to labour for a better time coming.

What then is the origin of this novel phenomenon? Whence comes this drawing nigh of those who had dwelt so far asunder—this reconciliation among those who had seemed irreconcilable? I think we must seek the cause of it, at least in great part, in a juster apprehension of the history and the present condition of Christian society. An event has come to pass which seemed impossible to ecclesiastical antiquity, and we ourselves have been very long in coming to the comprehension of its nature and consequences. The visible unity of the Church has been broken. By the separa-

[1] Jeremiah xxxi. 22.

tion of East and West in the tenth century, two great Churches were set face to face, both of them apostolic, both of them orthodox, both of them Catholic, and yet enemies. In the sixteenth century came the Protestant Reformation, developing this fact of division in new proportions, and more than this, in a new spirit. The primeval synthesis has broken up, in the result, into a vast and confused analysis. Each of the Churches which then emerged, took itself, more or less, for the Church universal; and claimed to possess an absolute right which was wanting to its rivals. Each maintained that its own theology was the complete and final statement of the revelation in the Scriptures: that its own organization was the faithful reproduction of the apostolic Church. I believe I do no injustice to Protestantism in declaring that there was not in all its pale a sect so circumscribed but that it shared more or less in this strange illusion. Happily this is no longer so. Protestant Churches are the first to confess that in respect both to their principle and to their history, such positions are not tenable. I am safe in adding that views analogous to these are coming to be expressed among the most enlightened minds in the Catholic Church. Doubtless they maintain, as they justly may, those principles of continuity and universality which are the proper character of their Church; but they begin to perceive that these principles have not always had their application in the facts. The events just transacted at Rome will serve not a little to give definiteness and development to these views. After the Council of the Vatican, far more than after that of Trent, it will be difficult to help recognizing in the

Roman Church new elements—often defective elements —which make of it, in certain aspects, a particular Church, and which no longer permit it, except by a thorough and courageous reformation, to fulfil its great mission for the unity of the world. All the Churches are imperfect, and consequently no one of them is sufficient to itself. All of them, in order that they may rise towards the perfect Church, have need each of the rest, while they all have need of God.

The movement that is drawing the minds of men toward each other, has its origin in regions deeper yet. It stands related to a more intimate acquaintance with the laws of human thought, and (if I might use the expression) with the very nature of truth, so far as it is given to man to hold the truth upon the earth. Doubtless the truth is really contained in the human mind ; but it is there, like a guest that is greater than the tabernacle of his sojourn, like a Divinity more august and holy than the temple in which it resides. Truth cannot be narrowly defined. The most necessary and the most certain of all truths, religious truth, is at the same time the least susceptible of precise definition. It resists all formulas ; it does not suffer itself to be shut up in our theological systems nor in our ecclesiastical institutions, but granting to us no more of itself than that portion needed by us for the wants of the journey, suffering itself to be seen, as once to Moses and to Elijah, only "by the hinder parts," and with flying glimpses, it draws us onward, with our thoughts and doings, towards that higher world which is its abode, and is to be our own.

I pray you, do not misunderstand me. I do not disparage the value of religious forms. Though imperfect, they are legitimate, they are useful, they are even necessary. Without them neither teaching nor fellowship would be possible. But I assert that the more deeply we enter into the truth and the life, the less we are attached, or at least the less we are chained, to formulas ; and, abiding faithful to the word uttered in our ear, which is the outward organ of faith, we listen, like St. Paul, to those secret inner words which it is permitted to every soul to hear, which it is forbidden to any mouth to repeat—"unspeakable words which it is not lawful for man to utter."[1]

Thus it is that there grows up, above all the Churches, though not outside of them, a communion of those minds and hearts furthest advanced towards the future, while at the same time they are most loyal to the past. To such as these,—while they wait for a completer union, for which the present is not yet ripe, but which it is theirs only to desire and prepare for from afar,—that is already fulfilled of which the apostle spoke: "The unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

It remains for me to point out to you, in the two countries which men represent to be the very seat of the antagonism of the Churches, the providential means of religious reconciliation.

It has been often said that France was Catholic by the requirements of its logic and its temperament, at least as much as by the traditions of its history. I acknowledge it freely, and am proud of it, both for my

[1] 2 Corinthians xii. 4.

Church and for my country. But it must not be forgotten that it is this same France which through Calvin has given to Protestantism its most original, perhaps its most characteristic form,—that form which is unquestionably the most popular with the Anglo-Saxon race. It must be remembered, also, that Catholic France itself has impressed the mark of its own distinctive genius upon its fidelity to the ancient Church, and that in respect to religion as well as in respect to race, it has long been a temperate zone between the south and the north of Europe. In the person of Bossuet as well as in that of Gerson, with mingled independence and reverence, it has planted against the encroachments of the central power the barriers which that power will vainly strive to overleap. In the person of Descartes, it has opened to free inquiry methods at once bolder and safer than those of Luther. And in the admirable school of Port Royal, with the learning of Arnaud, the tenderness and purity of Racine, the austere genius of Pascal, it has lifted up the immortal protest of the Christian conscience against those systems by which, at one stroke, morality is corrupted and liberty oppressed.

I have just been speaking of the protests of conscience. It was from one of these—excessive, as it seems to me, but grand and earnest—that Protestantism came forth. Its native land was Germany. "The German," wrote Charles the Fifth to the Pope, who could not understand him, "the German is a patient creature, who will carry anything but what weighs on his conscience." From the burdened conscience of Luther—from his torn and burning heart—

went forth the cry that woke the world,—that cry the echo of which disturbs the world to-day. In Germany, too, Protestantism has had its most complete development in the two directions necessary to every religious movement, and which, often opposed to each other in their progress, always end in mutual reconciliation—I mean learning and devotion. Yes, learning in its most advanced form, adventurous, astray sometimes, but honest, profound, productive, has had its home in those universities, unrivalled, I make bold to say, even in England. And devotion in its most practical and most touching form, has had its sanctuary in the hearts of those educated, simple-hearted populations, that rest from their daily toil in peace, to read their Bible and their Schiller, and go to battle, as in this war, singing the verses of their old psalms under the pines of their old forests.

But alongside of this Protestantism, to which I have wished to render all due honour, Germany has not ceased to cherish a Catholicism not less enlightened, not less honest, not less liberal. It manifested itself in the Council of the Vatican by that opposition, triumphant in its apparent defeat, to which it had given some of its strongest supporters. But it is not in any Bishop that this Catholicism is personified, but in a simple priest, an old man still young in mind and heart under the weight of years and experience, a patriarch of German erudition, as it has so well been said, but a patriarch of conscience, no less; one who, not less great in character than in intellect, compels those to respect who have not learned to love him. I need not say that I speak of Döllinger.

There is no country, it may be added, in which the two communions have lived together in relations more tolerant, more kind, I might almost say, more fraternal. I came myself, last spring, upon a most touching picture of this in the city of Heidelberg. Side by side in the same temple the two rites were celebrated, the Lutheran hymns making response to the Latin liturgy, Catholicism and Protestantism scarce divided by a partition wall. My heart thrilled in my bosom, and I whispered to myself, "the hour cometh when in point of Christian faith we shall all be Catholic—when against error and unrighteousness, we shall all be Protestant."

Thus have I set before you, gentlemen, this war—this war of destiny, as some have called it,—this war into which blind or malignant minds have been concentrating whatever of hateful passion could be derived from earth or from above the earth. We have found excuse for its existence neither in its earthward nor in its heavenward aspect, neither in the political interests of the people, nor in their religious sentiments, and we have reprobated it at once in the name of reason and in the name of Christianity. And yet is it to have no other result than all this streaming blood, these smoking ruins? Is it to stand in history a hideous inutility? The very thought is an insult to that all-wise and all-merciful God whose care is over all His works, who knows how to bring good out of evil, and never suffers men to introduce into His universe any disorder whatever, except that He Himself may derive from it a more perfect and more stable order.

Yes! the providential results of this guilty war begin already to rise before my view. Bear with me yet a moment, while I bid them welcome, in your name as well as my own.

And first, as affecting Germany, the result is the creation of a political organism in harmony with her vast intellectual and moral development. Germany has been like a great soul imprisoned in an impotent body. This ill-assorted union is ended now, and it is because we know the soul of Germany that we are not afraid of what course she may pursue in time to come.

And as for France, gentlemen, it might seem that she has gained nothing, but lost everything. Dear, dear, unhappy France! As we behold her stretched upon her own soil, in the convulsions of her heroic agony, we might be tempted to repeat, amid our tears, the word once spoken over another victim—"*Finis Poloniæ!*" But no! it is not the end, it is the beginning! Out of calamity, beyond all our fears, comes forth deliverance beyond all our hopes. Rescued from a government which was bringing us to ruin, but which we ourselves had twice sustained by acclamation, we are going now to shake ourselves free of this alternation between dictators and demagogues, between the Convention and the Empire. We are going to break off from the bad traditions of our great Revolution, and to return to its legitimate traditions, and fulfil, under the form of a Conservative Republic or a Limited Monarchy—two names for the same thing—those promises so binding and yet so long deferred.

In that apparent prosperity which for twenty years

past has sheltered so much of servitude and immorality, France had become an evil example to other nations, and was on the direct road to draw them along with itself to universal perdition. It was high time for that scandal to be taken out of the way. This was the prayer that was going up to heaven from truly patriotic and truly Christian hearts. Suffer me here to remind you that I myself was more than once the mouth-piece of it. "I will lay bare"—I said these words in the pulpit of Notre Dame—"I will lay bare those ulcers which are so obstinately concealed. Yes, while luxury is consuming the nation's vitals, while amid this increasing dissoluteness abandoned and shameless creatures lift their heads on every side, like worms upon the corpse on which they are battening, there is engendered another brood of death and corruption that attacks not the heart but the brain—the sophists, corrupters at once of the public reason and of the language which is its instrument. . . . But hark, now!—the foe is at our gates! our honour insulted, our independence threatened! If all this must needs be in order to snatch us from the hands of those who are our ruin, God will grant us even this, because He loves us and is willing to save us in spite of ourselves."[1]

Well, God *has* saved us; and for my part, I do not feel that I have the right to reckon with Him as to the fearful means which He has thought best to use. Thanks be to Thee, thou God of mercy and of righteousness!

[1] The whole of the passage on the moral uses of war, from which these sentences are quoted, is contained in the Notre Dame "Conferences," delivered in Notre Dame in 1867, on "Christianity and Civil Society."

Thou hast given back France to herself. Thou alone couldst know what cost of tears, what cost of blood was needed for this great redemption!

And finally, gentlemen, Rome is free! This also is my country—the country of my soul; and the joy of its deliverance breaks in like a ray of happy light upon the darkness of this hour. Yes! I have seen the Temporal Power too close at hand, to share these blind regrets that follow its departure. I have done my best, if not to love, at least to respect it. I thought myself in duty bound to do so. My conscience was stronger than my judgment. The Temporal Power has had its legitimate, perhaps its necessary, place. In the ancient order of things, it had its days of prosperity and even of glory. But in its later form, it had ceased to be anything but a decrepid system, destined to crumble in ruin upon itself, the moment the outward props should be withdrawn.

All hail, then, to Roman liberty! Liberty, I know, is only a means, and not an end. It may abide without result; it may conceive and bring forth death. But I have faith in the use that Rome will make of liberty. The liberty of Rome is to be the giving back of Italy, also, to herself, that she may be mistress at last of her own great destinies. The liberty of Rome is to be the uplifting of the Latin races. The liberty of Rome is to be something greater and better than all this: it is to be the Reformation of the Church.

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